

TREATY OF PEACE WITH GERMANY

HEARINGS

BEFORE THE

COMMITTEE ON FOREIGN RELATIONS UNITED STATES SENATE

SIXTY-SIXTH CONGRESS

FIRST SESSION

PART 17

Printed for the use of the Committee on Foreign Relations



COMMITTEE ON FOREIGN RELATIONS.

HENRY CABOT LODGE, Massachusetts, *Chairman.*

PORTER J. McCUMBER, North Dakota.

WILLIAM E. BORAH, Idaho.

FRANK B. BRANDEGEE, Connecticut.

ALBERT B. FALL, New Mexico.

PHILANDER C. KNOX, Pennsylvania.

WARREN G. HARDING, Ohio.

HIRAM W. JOHNSON, California.

HARRY S. NEW, Indiana.

GEORGE H. MOSES, New Hampshire.

GILBERT M. HITCHCOCK, Nebraska.

JOHN SHARP WILLIAMS, Mississippi.

CLAUDE A. SWANSON, Virginia.

ATLEE POMERENE, Ohio.

MARCUS A. SMITH, Arizona.

KEY PITTMAN, Nevada.

JOHN K. SHIELDS, Tennessee.

CHARLES F. REDMOND, *Clerk.*

940.9117

Un3t

SATURDAY, AUGUST 30, 1919.

UNITED STATES SENATE,
COMMITTEE ON FOREIGN RELATIONS,
Washington, D. C.

The committee met, pursuant to adjournment, at 10 o'clock a. m., in room 426 Senate Office Building, Senator Henry Cabot Lodge presiding.

Present: Senators Lodge (chairman), Borah, Brandegee, Fall, Knox, Harding, Johnson, New, Moses, Swanson, and Pittman.

The CHAIRMAN. The committee will be in order, please. Judge Cohalan, we will hear you now. Unfortunately our time is limited, and we can give only two hours, as we have to hear representatives of Greece for an hour afterwards. Judge Cohalan, I leave it to you to arrange the time for the different speeches.

STATEMENT OF HON. DANIEL F. COHALAN, JUSTICE OF THE
SUPREME COURT OF NEW YORK.

Judge COHALAN. Mr. Chairman and gentlemen of the committee, acting on behalf of those who are here to represent the great bulk of the 20,000,000 of the Irish element in this country, we have arranged a program which with your permission we will carry through in the order we have fixed, if possible, taking only the time you have allotted to us. If we may have to call upon you for a few minutes extra, we are going to ask you to indulge us in it if you will.

We are opposed to the proposed league of nations for many reasons, all of which we believe are of great weight and importance to the interests of our country. We object, in the first place, to the proposal to establish what we believe to be a superstate to which shall be delegated or turned over powers that belong to the sovereign United States of America. We believe that that is an infringement upon the sovereignty of the country and is an interference with its liberty, and because of that we most strongly oppose the establishment of any such body.

We believe it to be an affront to America to suggest even that in any such proposed league of nations as is coming before us that any country, no matter how friendly it may claim to be to America, should have six votes as compared to the one vote of America. We believe that would be an affront to the intelligence of the people of America and a very decided injury to America if any such scheme were to go through.

We are opposed to this proposed league of nations because of the fact that under it we believe the old American doctrine of the freedom of the seas, for which America has stood all through its history, is not taken care of in any way, but that, on the contrary, the matter

13 Mi. 24

McK

has been arranged in such manner as to turn over to England, without protest, the control of the oceans of the world.

We call your attention to the fact that because of the extraordinary development of our industrial conditions we manufacture in less than 8 months of every year what we would consume in 12 months, and that as a consequence of that, for 4 months in the year we are dependent for a market, and for an output for our factories, upon our foreign trade. We insist that under the conditions that would obtain if this proposed league of nations were to go through we would be left in a position where we could carry on such trade, not as the matter of right which we now enjoy, for which we fought, and our forefathers before us fought, and which we have always enjoyed during the history of our country, but as a privilege extended to us by the nation which controlled the sea. We say this in no spirit of hostility to England. We would take the same position if any other country were put in the position of controlling the sea. We insist that for the interest of America it is absolutely requisite that no power should be able to control the ocean through the system of navalism any more than any country divided should control all the land under the system of militarism.

We believe we went to war for the purpose of ending autocracy and all that that means, and that it means not alone militarism, the control of the land, but also navalism, the control of the oceans of the world. We say that if we could carry on our commerce only so long as the opportunity to do so was extended to us as a matter of privilege by any nation, no matter how friendly that nation might claim to be, we could in no way build up our commerce or build up our industry on any permanent basis at all, because our commerce would be subject to the whim, or subject to the interest, or subject to the passion of the hour, as it might appeal to any other nation, or to any combination of nations together; and we point out with relation to that that we do not believe this war will have been properly won; that is, that the interests of America will have been properly taken care of as a consequence of the winning of the war as we insist that it was won, because of the contribution made by America, in spite of all that may be said by the other countries and the contributions they made, and the interests of America and the interests of mankind will not be properly safeguarded so long as any one nation or any combination of nations is left in possession and control of the sea, and able to interfere with the commerce that should be carried on in a normal way between all the free-trading countries of the world, all the countries that want to carry on commerce with one another and to have friendly business relations with one another.

We believe the British fleet in its position of predominant power to-day is a menace to the commerce of the United States. We say that it no longer can be a weapon in the hands of England as against Germany, because Germany has been put in a position where it can in no way compete with England, where it has been deprived of its navy entirely.

We say the same thing with relation to Russia. We say that it can not be held in any way to be used as a weapon against France, because France, through the action of her statesmen and the stress

of circumstances, has practically been taken into the continental vassalage of England. We say under those conditions that the English fleet can be directed or used as a weapon of menace against nobody except the United States of America, and we point out that even though, as many Englishmen contend, it is only a matter of coincidence it is a fact that at any time when any country has put itself or been put in the position of being an economic rival or being an industrial competitor of England ruin has overtaken that country in every way; and we say in the interest of a just and permanent peace, if it can be made under these conditions at all, it can be made only by taking care to see that England should not be put in a position where she can menace the commerce of the United States, and menace the commerce of the world, whenever it suits her interest or whenever it suits her whim to do so. We suggest with relation to that, that in any peace that should be made precaution should be taken to see that there be a general disarmament not only on land but also on sea, so that there will be actual freedom of all the world and not freedom simply of part of the world.

We point out the importance of Ireland in any scheme that would practically bring about the freedom of the sea. We say, again in no spirit of hostility to England at all, but only taking conditions into account as they exist, that England can not continue to be the dominant power of the earth; that England can not continue to control the world unless she controls the sea, and that her continued control of the sea is dependent upon her continued control of Ireland; and we say that she can make no better contribution to the general freedom of the world, she can give no better evidence of her desire to make a just and durable and permanent peace, than by consenting to the disarmament of this fleet, which now is so very much larger than the fleet of any other nation or practically any combination of nations.

Senator BRANDEGEE. Do you object to being asked a question, or do you want to proceed without interruption?

Judge COHALAN. I do not mind, at all.

Senator BRANDEGEE. I wanted, if it would not interrupt the continuity of your thought, to have you state a little more in detail what you mean when you say that the continued supremacy of the sea depends upon this control of Ireland by England. I did not quite get it.

Judge COHALAN. For your consideration, I would present the geographical position of Ireland with relation to England, the thing to which you remember George Washington referred when he said that if Ireland were 500 miles from England there would be no Irish question. When you think of the relation of Ireland to England, you see it puts England in a place where she can control the ocean, as she can not control the ocean unless she controls Ireland. While it is true that England made last year \$225,000,000 out of the control of Ireland, the real secret for insisting upon keeping her control of Ireland is that she wants to be able to control the seas. She can do that because of the geographical position of Ireland only if she controls Ireland. You will remember that you can not approach the southern coast of England without passing the southern coast of Ireland, and can not approach the northern coast of England without passing the northern coast of Ireland. Under the circumstances, England is going to insist on control of Ireland.

As I say, she can make no greater contribution to the freedom of the world, can give no greater evidence of the desire to bring about a just and permanent peace, than to give her consent to having the republican form of government which has been set up in Ireland recognized by herself as well as the other nations of the world.

Passing from that we contend that we must as Americans take a position in opposition to this proposed league of nations because of what it does with relation to the Monroe doctrine. We insist that the Monroe doctrine is one of the fundamental principles upon which American power has been reared, and that our foreign policy has recognized it as the great principle of American statesmanship, of American interests, and if this peace convention is going to give its attention to the settling of all problems in the future so as to do away with the probability of some great war occurring in the world, it ought to take into question conditions as they have existed up to the present time, and then the interests of America are the first thing that should be looked out for by those who represent and speak for America.

We point out that under the Monroe doctrine, as it has been established, we have grown in wealth, prosperity, and power as no nation in the history of the world has grown. And we say that the Monroe doctrine if it is to be changed should be changed not in the way of diminishing its power, but in the way of strengthening its power. If there shall be a desire to make a permanent peace, the Monroe doctrine should be extended so that it shall include any European interests in the Western Hemisphere. Any European country which is represented here by territory should depart. Since the Monroe doctrine has been enunciated all the territory which is possessed in western America by them has been given up by Denmark, France, Russia, Spain, and Portugal, and the only power remaining in any large way upon this hemisphere, the only European power possessing territory of any extent in this country, is the British Empire, and we say that if there is going to be a permanent settlement to come out of these peace negotiations, the people of Canada, our great neighbor on the north, ought to have submitted to them the question of taking their place among the republics of the Western Hemisphere, or even if an arrangement could be made of joining our country, and in the same way the territory that England has in the West Indies should be turned over to America or turned over to the people of those islands in order that there may be no further menace of American commerce, so far as the Western Hemisphere is concerned.

We Irish think that there should be no abandonment of the policy laid down by Washington in his Farewell Address of keeping away from permanent entangling alliances with any of the countries of the Old World. We point out that this has been the policy which has been followed strictly by America and has resulted probably more than anything else in strengthening the extraordinary position we occupy to-day. As the Senator from Pennsylvania said so well yesterday, the only great solvent power left, practically, on the earth is the United States, and it is the duty of those representing America to continue this policy, and we urge that in acting for the welfare of America care should be taken to see that that doctrine should be upheld, and that the advice of Washington should be con-

tinued and lived up to in such a way that we should neither take part in the quarrels of the Old World nor permit them to take part in our quarrels.

Coming down to specific things, as far as article 10 of the proposed league of nations is concerned, we most emphatically protest against that. Under it we are asked to make the greatest departure from American traditions of statesmanship that has ever been made. We are asked to abandon the position that we have taken up to this day, as we did in Cuba, to give aid where people have been struggling to be free, and we would be unable to extend our sympathies to people all over the world who are struggling to be free, if we guarantee the territorial integrity of existing nations. Under the proposed league of nations we should have to guarantee the territorial integrity of the Japanese Empire, the British Empire, the only two empires remaining, and guarantee to them the possession of all the spoils and the loot that they have gathered up in their existence in all parts of the world. No relief could be given Ireland as in the sixteenth century Spain gave aid to Ireland in her fight against England, for we would be compelled to make a fight, and would be compelled to send our men into Ireland, not for the purpose of helping them in their struggle but in order to help England to rivet the chains upon her.

We point out that if France should desire to assist Ireland as she did in the seventeenth century and the eighteenth century that she would be unable to do so.

We say that it is utterly un-American, that it is against our best interest, against our highest ideals and against our highest ambition, and we point out the facts so well known that if a league of nations had been in existence at the time of the Revolution that France could not have come to the assistance of the 13 Colonies, or if it had been in existence at the time of the Spanish-American War, that we could not have gone to the assistance of Cuba, to help Cuba to obtain the position that she now occupies among the Republics of the world.

Now, so far as Ireland is concerned, of course we understand that this discussion here should be very largely confined to the proposed league of nations. But we want to point out some of the conditions over there that show the state of affairs in the British Empire. We say that no people on earth held in oppression, held practically in slavery, have ever shown such an extraordinary political unanimity in the expression of their desire to change the form of government under which they live, and to become again one of the free nations of the world. Ireland is able to support herself—to stand upon her feet. England last year made from Ireland \$225,000,000. She gathered in taxation, according to her own figures, some £34,000,000, equivalent to \$170,000,000; she spent for the government of Ireland some £13,000,000, leaving a profit of £21,000,000, or \$105,000,000, taking \$5 as the value of a pound.

Last year by reason of her absolute control of the sea, by reason of the fact that she shut Ireland off absolutely from contact with the rest of the world, so far as commerce is concerned, compelling Ireland to sell everything she has to sell through an English channel and compelling her to buy everything she has to buy from the western

world through an English channel, she did 95 per cent of the business of Ireland.

Sir Horace Plunkett says that Ireland's business with the rest of the world amounted to \$820,000,000. The English statistics, so far as we can get them, show that this amount was \$860,000,000 instead of \$820,000,000. And we say that the English trader, who has no peer in ability, has made profit on the turnover of \$120,000,000. This, together with the excess taxation, makes a total of \$225,000,000.

We say that since the Act of Union the Childers Commission, which was appointed by Gladstone in 1894, composed of 15 men (9 Englishmen), after two years of investigation of English data, reported that Ireland, instead of costing the English money, from January, 1861 to 1896, had overpaid into the English treasury in the form of overtaxation annually the sum of £2,715,000, or the equivalent of \$14,000,000, which means that for the 120 years since the formation of the union England had taken out of Ireland over \$1,700,000,000. We call your attention to that staggering sum even in these days. When they wanted to destroy France they imposed an indemnity of \$1,000,000,000, but here they have taken from Ireland in overtaxation a much greater sum.

In the last 70 years, between 1845 and 1915, the population of Ireland has been practically cut in two. In 1845 the population was practically 8,500,000—between 8,250,000 and 8,500,000. According to the census taken in 1915 by the British Government the population was a little over 4,000,000. We say that you can not find any parallel in the history of the world as that.

Senator KNOX. From what years?

Judge COHALAN. Seventy years; from 1845 to 1915.

Senator KNOX. There is a parallel in Central America.

Judge COHALAN. I did not know that you could find one.

Senator KNOX. That is under very benighted conditions.

Judge COHALAN. I would say, in relation to that, by way of comparison, that the peoples of the continent of Europe that were most strongly tyrannized over—if you put it in that way, the nations against whose governments the strongest complaints were made by those over whom they were working and who suffered most under such a condition of affairs, during the time that Alsace-Lorraine was under German rule she grew and prospered in population; Schleswig-Holstein under German rule grew and prospered; Poland under Russian rule; and there has been no parallel, except as Senator Knox has indicated as to Central America.

We say that we are dependent for four months of every year upon the foreign markets of the world to find some place in which to sell our goods in order that our factories may run to their full capacity and the men may be employed.

In 1913 the business between England and the United States amounted to \$875,000,000. The exports from America to England were \$700,000,000, while the imports from England to America were \$175,000,000. The business between England and Ireland was \$675,000,000 in that year, and the imports were around \$350,000,000, so that England found in Ireland a place to which to send her manufactured goods to the extent of twice that she found in this country.

In 1801 the population of England was 9,000,000 and the popula-

tion of Ireland was 6,000,000. The size of England is 50,000 square miles and Ireland 32,000 square miles, showing that the proportion of population of Ireland should be two-thirds that of England. That was the condition when the act of union, passed on the 1st of January, 1801, which Gladstone characterized as the most corrupt act ever passed in England.

We say that the proposed league of nations is un-American and that it can not be depended on to guard the interests of America, that it can not safeguard the interest of America. We speak for people who are devoted to America above everything else, who have done everything possible to stand by American traditions and ideals. We urge upon you very strongly, speaking practically for one of every five persons in America, that the Senate report against this proposed league of nations and recommend that the Senate reject it, and if under any circumstances any part of it should be accepted that under no condition should article 10 or article 11 be accepted, or any other things from which there would be a curtailment of American sovereignty and American independence. We are opposed to the whole league of nations. We believe it is un-American, and urge and insist that in it there can be no justice and no just and permanent peace, and that by adopting it you are only making for a continuance of the war.

Senator MOSES. Judge Cohalan, you spoke of your speaking for one of every five persons in the United States. Do you intend to imply that there are 20,000,000 of inhabitants of this country who are of Irish origin?

Judge COHALAN. We think there are many more than that.

Senator MOSES. And the views that you express are shared by that 20,000,000?

Judge COHALAN. Suppose I give you some evidence of it. I would like to put in the record the reasons I have for that opinion. On the 22d and 23d of February, in the city of Philadelphia, I had the honor of presiding over the most patriotic gathering of American citizens that I have ever seen. There were 5,132 accredited delegates to the convention. The resolutions that were passed were offered by Cardinal Gibbons, seconded by a distinguished Episcopalian minister and by a distinguished Presbyterian minister and by a famous Jewish rabbi.

Among those thousands of delegates were hundreds representing the Friends of Irish Freedom, hundreds representing the Ancient Order of Hibernians, with its more than quarter million members, and represented at this hearing by its national president, Judge Deery of Indianapolis, and its other national officers. Many speakers there represented the Women's Auxiliary of the Ancient Order of Hibernians, and that order is today represented here by its national president, Mrs. McWhorter, and its other national officers; and present also were representatives from practically every Irish American society in this country. From compilations frequently made from statistics as to the racial origin of the people of our country, we feel that we are well within bounds in claiming that without regard to religious belief, at least 1 in every 5 of our citizens is of Irish origin.

Senator MOSES. Can you explain, then, why it is that the Irish Senators are so lukewarm?

Judge COHALAN. Senator, I came here for the purpose of making an argument showing our position to-day. I came here to make an argument that would appeal to all the Senators, no matter what races they represent, and when the hearing is concluded I hope that the Senators will be convinced.

Senator JOHNSON of California. The difficulty is that you have been addressing yourself thus far to members of this committee who are of one mind upon this subject.

Judge COHALAN. Looking around and seeing the number of them, I am glad that that is so.

Senator JOHNSON of California. I wish it were possible for you to address them all.

The CHAIRMAN. Are you ready to go on?

Judge COHALAN. I am going to call upon Mr. Patrick J. Lynch, of the Supreme Court of Indiana, to read the memorial on the behalf of those who have come here. They have come from practically every State in the Union, from all walks in life, and from all over the country. We wish that it were possible to get people from the different parts of the country to be heard, but we have prepared a general memorial, and then later we will hand in the names of those who have signed.

(The following memorial was read by Mr. Patrick J. Lynch:)

MEMORIAL TO THE SENATE OF THE UNITED STATES.

SENATORS: We, citizens of the United States, of Irish blood, but attached above all things to this Republic and its Constitution, respectfully pray that the proposed treaty now before you be rejected as a direct violation of the principles on which this war was fought, as they were defined by President Wilson in these words, addressed to Congress:

"National aspirations must be respected; peoples may now be dominated and governed only by their own consent. 'Self-determination' is not a mere phrase. It is an imperative principle of action, which statesmen will henceforth ignore at their peril."

And, again, in the President's address delivered at Mount Vernon July 4, 1918:

"The settlement of every question, whether of territory, of sovereignty, of economic arrangement, or of political relationship, upon the basis of the free acceptance of that settlement by the people immediately concerned, and not upon the basis of the material interest or advantage of any other nation or people which may desire a different settlement for the sake of its own exterior influence or mastery."

On these principles other nations which have claimed their right to independence only during a period comparatively recent have been emancipated. To them America was bound by no ties save that of sympathy for the cause of freedom.

Ireland has been asserting continuously her claim to independence for eight centuries. America is bound to her by close ties of friendship and of obligation for manifold services in peace and war. One-fifth of this entire population is of Irish extraction. In every war which America has fought Irishmen have shed their blood in a measure far in excess of their proportion to population. We ask that Ireland be not the only nation excluded from the benefit of the glorious principles enunciated by Mr. Wilson, as those which the great war was fought to establish.

We especially denounce Article X of the proposed league of nations as a device to stifle the conscience of civilization and render it impotent to condemn, and, by condemning, to end the oppression of weak nations enslaved by powerful neighbors. It impeaches the most creditable page in our history and discredits the circumstances and conditions in which our Republic was born and our liberty achieved.

The conscience of civilization, the only force to which the oppressed can appeal, would no longer be able to take effective jurisdiction of wrongs perpe-

trated by powerful nations on weaker people. No struggling nation has ever achieved its independence except through the aid of other nations. The struggling American Colonies could never have thrown off the yoke of Great Britain without the aid of France. Cuba could never have been freed without the intervention of this country, and one of the most creditable pages in human history would never have been written.

Greece could never have escaped from the hideous domination of the Turk but for the assistance of enlightened nations.

Under article 11 it becomes the right of the council of the league to prevent an assembly of American citizens to petition their Government to afford relief to an oppressed nation. On this point article 11 specifically says:

"It is also declared to be the friendly right of each member of the league to bring to the attention of the assembly or of the council any circumstance whatever affecting international relations which threaten to disturb international peace or the good understanding between nations on which peace depends."

Under that clause our Congress could not express in the future, as it did in the past, our sympathy with countries like Greece, seeking freedom from the Turk; the South American Republics, seeking liberty from Spain; or tender a welcome to Kossuth, of stricken Hungary; or Parnell, pleading for a self-governing Ireland.

The determination of Ireland to regain her independence has been one of the sources of every great war which scourged the world for four centuries. Any question which disturbs the peace of nations is not domestic, but international. Its settlement is, therefore, an imperative necessity of international peace.

Through long centuries of oppression Ireland has maintained her national spirit largely because she has always hitherto been able to cherish a hope that she might receive from some well-disposed foreign power the assistance which would insure her independence. She looked to Spain for this aid at the close of the sixteenth century; to France in the seventeenth, eighteenth, and nineteenth centuries. She looks for it now in the twentieth century to America, and we confidently hope and pray that the Senate will not allow that light of hope to be extinguished.

Signed by—

Daniel F. Cohalan, justice, supreme court, New York City.

Frank P. Walsh, Kansas City.

E. F. Dunne, former governor, Illinois, Chicago, Ill.

Michael J. Ryan, Philadelphia.

John Archdeacon Murphy, member of American commission on Irish independence, attending peace conference, Paris, Buffalo, N. Y.

Charles S. Bartlett, governor, New Hampshire, Concord, N. H.

W. W. McDowell, lieutenant governor, Montana, Butte, Mont.

John W. Goff, former justice, supreme court, New York City.

Bourke Cochran, New York City.

Daniel T. O'Connell, director, Irish national bureau, Washington, Boston, Mass.

John E. Milholland, New York City.

James K. McGuire, representing Irish societies of Westchester County, N. Y.

Joseph F. O'Connell, former Member of Congress, Boston, Mass.

Rev. F. X. McCabe, president De Paul University, Chicago, Ill.

Right Rev. Monsignor Gerald P. Coghlan, treasurer Philadelphia Friends of Irish Freedom, Philadelphia.

Michael Francis Doyle, Philadelphia.

Mary F. McWhorter, national president Ladies' Auxiliary, Ancient Order of Hibernians, Chicago, Ill.

Peter F. Tague, Member of Congress, Boston, Mass.

Cornelius Corcoran John McBride branch, Friends of Irish Freedom, Lawrence, Mass.

Frank S. McDonald, John McBride branch, Friends of Irish Freedom, Lawrence, Mass.

Michael F. Phelan, Member of Congress, Lynn, Mass.

Hugh O'Neill, committee of 100 for an Irish republic, Chicago, Ill.

Richard W. Wolfe, committee of 100 for an Irish republic, Chicago, Ill.

James E. Murray, representing Irish societies of Montana, Butte, Mont.

C. E. McGuire, Washington, D. C.

D. J. Carlin, New Orleans, La.

John P. Leahy, delegate, Friends of Irish Freedom, St. Louis, Mo.

W. J. O'Brien, M. D., Philadelphia, Pa.

Mrs. M. A. Gallagher, State president Ladies' Auxiliary of Pennsylvania, Ancient Order of Hibernians, Philadelphia.

Louis E. Kavanaugh, president Omaha Association branch, Friends of Irish Freedom, Omaha, Nebr.

P. M. Halloran, representing Irish societies of Anaconda, Mont.

J. W. Maney, president of Friends of Irish Freedom, Oklahoma City, Okla.

Horace H. Hagan, former assistant attorney general of Oklahoma.

Dennis Meehan, York, Nebr.

Thomas Darragh Mullins, member national council, Friends of Irish Freedom, Pittsburgh.

Dudley Field Malone, Croton on the Hudson, N. Y.

Martin Scully, former mayor of Waterbury, Waterbury, Conn.

Joseph P. Mahoney, president United Societies of Cook County and Chicago, Chicago, Ill.

Rev. James Mattan Mythen, representing national council, Baltimore, Md.

Patrick Lee, secretary American commission on Irish independence, Richmond Hill, N. Y.

Hon. David J. O'Connell, Representative, Congress, Brooklyn, N. Y.

Very Rev. Edward C. O'Reilly, representing Catholic clergy of diocese of La Crosse, Baraboo, Wis.

P. J. McGarvey, Philadelphia, Pa.

Hugh McCaffrey, Philadelphia, Pa.

Bernard J. Rocks, Newcastle, Pa.

P. T. McCourt, committeeman, Friends of Irish Freedom, Akron, Ohio.

T. A. Clancy, Hartford delegate, Hartford, Conn.

Patrick J. Lynch, Indianapolis, Ind.

Margaret T. Mulvaney, State secretary Ladies' Auxiliary Ancient Order of Hibernians, Providence, R. I.

M. E. Smith, treasurer, St. Louis, Mo., St. Louis.

Robert Emmett O'Malley, delegate, Michael Davitt branch, Kansas City, Mo.

P. J. Ryan, member of executive council, Washington, D. C.

M. O'Neil, president, Friends of Irish Freedom, Akron, Ohio.

James A. Kelly, Danville, N. Y.

Katherine Hughes, secretary, Irish national bureau, Washington, D. C.

Joseph T. Brennan, secretary Federation of Catholic Societies, Boston, Mass.

John R. Haverty, director John McBride branch, Lawrence, Mass.

Timothy P. Donohue, treasurer, John McBride branch, Lawrence, Mass.

Rev. Walter P. Gough, director of Columbus, Philadelphia, Pa.

Margaret L. Brosnahan, district president Ladies' Auxiliary, Ancient Order of Hibernians, Washington, D. C.

Margaret Buckley, district treasurer Ladies' Auxiliary, Ancient Order of Hibernians.

Thomas J. Blewett, representing Thomas Francis Magher branch, Bridgeport, Conn.

H. B. Cassidy, Syracuse, N. Y.

Edward Ryan, president Friends of Irish Freedom, Syracuse branch Syracuse, N. Y.

John B. London, secretary Ancient Order of Hibernians, Philadelphia, Pa.

E. J. Devine, delegate Norfolk branch, Norfolk, Va.

James O'Neill, president John McBride branch, Lawrence, Mass.

Rev. Joseph Byrne, D. D., president St. Mary's College, Darien, Conn.

Matthew Donovan, District Council 40, Philadelphia, Pa.

James O. Reilly, Ancient Order of Hibernian delegate, Philadelphia, Pa.

Henry J. Phillips, secretary Robert Emmet branch, Philadelphia, Pa.

Patrick King, Young Men's Union, Philadelphia, Pa.

Joseph P. O'Neill, Federation of Irish County Societies, Philadelphia, Pa.

O'Neill Ryan, St. Louis, Mo., former justice supreme court.

Michael Heffernan, Chester, Pa., Thomas Clarke branch, Friends of Irish Freedom.

William J. Hurley, New York, N. Y., secretary Maj. John McBride branch, Friends of Irish Freedom.

John J. Buckley, New York, N. Y., president Roger Casement branch, New York City.

P. J. Kilduff, Hoboken, N. J., State organizer.

Dr. T. C. McNamara, Hoboken, N. J., State organizer, Friends of Irish Freedom.

Thomas O'Brien, New York, N. Y., president St. Columcille branch, Friends of Irish Freedom.

Rev. William T. McLaughlin, Jersey City, N. J., State president, Friends of Irish Freedom.

Michael J. O'Connor, New York, N. Y., Innisfail branch, Friends of Irish Freedom.

Thomas J. Maloney, Jersey City, N. J., president P. Lorillard Co.

Kate M. Kelly, New York, N. Y., Irish Women's Council.

John Regan, New Bedford, Mass., president Thomas Clarke branch.

Rodger Power O'Neill, M. D., New York City, N. Y., National committee.

Thomas McNamara, jr., Youngstown, Ohio, chairman Ohio committee.

Shaemas O'Sheel, New York, N. Y., William Pearse branch, Friends of Irish Freedom and William Rooney Society.

Thomas F. J. Connolly, Port Chester, N. Y., Friends of Irish Freedom, Port Chester and Rye, N. Y.

Roderick J. Kennedy, New York City, N. Y., confidential attendant Supreme Court, State of New York.

W. E. Hogan, Bridgeport, Conn., vice president of De Valera branch, Bridgeport, Conn.

John O'Dea, Philadelphia, Pa., national secretary Ancient Order of Hibernians.

John J. O'Neill, Bridgeport, Conn., president T. F. Meagher branch, Friends of Irish Freedom.

Attorney Thomas D. Shea, Nanticoke, Pa., local council, Luzerne County; headquarters, Wilkes-Barre, Pa. Secretary, Matthew O'Connor Ford; vice president, T. R. Callam; treasurer, R. R. Fitzpatrick; trustees, P. J. Calligan, J. V. Moylan, C. A. Judge, M. D.

John Stratton O'Leary, New York, N. Y., member of grievance committee, Bronx Builders' Protective Association.

Cornelius F. Murphy, Shelton, Conn., president of P. H. Pearse branch, Friends of Irish Freedom.

Rodger Power O'Neill, M. D., New York City, N. Y., member national committee.

James D. O'Neil, Jenkintown, Pa., organizer.

Thomas McCourt, New York, N. Y., Con Colbert branch, Friends of Irish Freedom, Sunburst Club.

Frank Hague, Jersey City, N. J., member Jersey City branch.

Charles F. H. O'Brien, Jersey City, N. J., member Jersey City branch.

Eugene F. Kincaid, Jersey City, N. J., former Member of Congress.

Thomas Shea, Nanticoke, Pa.

Michael J. Enright, Chester, Pa., Thomas Clarke branch, Friends of Irish Freedom.

James B. Mulherin, Augusta, Ga., delegate John F. Armstrong branch, Friends of Irish Freedom, Augusta, Ga.

Margaret Bowles, New York City, N. Y., Bishop D. Dwyer branch, Friends of Irish Freedom.

Peter J. Fleming, M. D., Boston, Mass., medical committee.

Daniel Foley, Winthrop, Mass., professor of economics, Trade Union College, Boston, Mass.

John Morton, Dorchester, Mass., advisory committee chairman, Boston, Mass.

Rev. Edward S. Brock, S. J., Washington, D. C.

Joseph J. Hall, Naugatuck, Conn., assistant purchasing agent of Rubber Regenerating Co.

James O'Sullivan, Lowell, Mass., treasurer of two important corporations.

Jeremiah Flahavan, Ansonia, Conn., president of James Connelly Club, Friends of Irish Freedom, Ansonia.

Francis B. McKinney, Boston, Mass., lecturer Joseph Plunkett branch, Friends of Irish Freedom.

John G. Fitzgerald, Ansonia, Conn., vice president.

Michael B. McGreal, New Haven, Conn., City Board Ancient Order of Hibernians, New Haven, five divisions, three auxiliaries; Division No. 7, Ancient Order of Hibernians; Sarsfield G. A. Club, Friends of Irish Freedom, New Haven, Conn.

Matthew Cummings, Boston, Mass., president Boston Council, Friends of Irish Freedom.

John H. H. McNamee, Boston, Mass., banker and manufacturer.

Hon. Edward W. Quinn, Cambridge, Mass., mayor of Cambridge.

- Richard Dwyer, national vice president Ancient Order of Hibernians, South Boston, Mass.
- Paul F. Spain, Cambridge, Mass., treasurer bench and bar committee, Boston, Mass.
- James A. Dorsey, Boston, Mass., chairman finance committee, bench and bar committee, Boston.
- Michael L. Fahey, Boston, Mass., secretary committee bench and bar.
- Daniel H. Coakley, Boston, Mass., chairman committee bench and bar.
- Joseph O. Pelletin, Boston, Mass., bench and bar committee.
- Edw. F. McSweeney, Framingham, Mass., member national council, member advisory committee, Boston.
- John J. McDonagh, New York, N. Y., delegate from the Archbishop Plunkett branch, Friends of Irish Freedom.
- H. Miller, New York, N. Y., Archbishop Plunkett branch, Friends of Irish Freedom.
- James E. Deery, Indianapolis, Ind., national president Ancient Order of Hibernians.
- E. F. White, Chester, Pa.
- Rossa F. Downing, Washington, D. C., Washington branch, Friends of Irish Freedom.
- Wm. J. Boyle, Central Labor Union of Philadelphia, Pa.
- N. J. Sinnott, Member of Congress from Oregon.
- Daniel J. Moran, Lynn, Mass., recording secretary and director of publicity.
- (Mrs.) Honor Walsh, Germantown, Pa., editorial staff, the Standard and Guild.
- Robert E. Ford, New York, N. Y., editor Irish World.
- Patrick King, Catholic Young Men's Union, Philadelphia, Pa.
- Patrick Fitzgerald, United Irish Societies of Western Pennsylvania.
- Patrick Cronin, Duquesne University.
- Thomas Lee, New York, N. Y.
- William J. Noonan, 37 Raleigh Avenue, Richmond borough, City of New York.
- Thomas Rock, Central Federated Union, New York City.
- Louis D. Kavanagh, president of Irish Self-Determination Club, Omaha.
- James O. Reilly, Philadelphia, Pa.
- Joseph McGarrity, Philadelphia, Pa., chairman Irish Volunteer Committee.
- John J. Liddy, Indianapolis, Ind.
- William H. Foley, Indianapolis, Ind.
- P. J. Conway, president Irish-American Athletic Club, New York City.
- John H. Dooley, 535 West One hundred and twenty-first Street, New York, N. Y.; representative position, National Executive Committee, New York City.
- Annie Lester Lyons, delegate Yorktown branch, F. O. I. F., Norfolk, Va.
- Lawrence Craddock Lawless, delegate Yorktown branch F. O. I. F., Norfolk, Va.
- Margaret Elward Lawless, delegate Yorktown branch F. O. I. F., Norfolk, Va.
- James C. Gordon, president Yorktown branch F. O. I. F., Norfolk, Va.
- M. J. Lyons, vice president Yorktown branch F. O. I. F., United States deputy marshal's office, Norfolk, Va.
- Henry McNally, president of Patrick Henry branch, Friends of Irish Freedom, Girard, Ohio.
- Thomas F. Martin, secretary of state of New Jersey.
- John Mannix, Glens Falls, N. Y.
- Patrick O'Hagerty, Springfield, Mass.
- Patrick J. Kennedy, Glens Falls, N. Y.
- Rev. Joseph O'Keefe, Akron, Ohio.
- J. B. Shannon, Kansas City, Mo.
- Casinn J. Welch, Kansas City, Mo.
- Martin Owens, Newark, N. J.
- Rev. Thomas J. Hurton, Philadelphia, Pa., St. Enda's Gaelic School and St. Edna branch of the Gaelic League.
- H. J. Phillips, Philadelphia, Pa., Robert Emmet branch, Friends of Irish Freedom.
- J. T. Lawler, Norfolk, Va., member national committee, Friends of Irish Freedom.
- Hugh Montague, Passaic, N. J., general contractor.
- Roderick J. Kennedy, clerk Supreme Court State of New York.
- D. J. Lawless, Marcellus Falls, N. Y.
- R. E. O'Malley, Michael Davitt branch, Friends of Irish Freedom, Kansas City, Mo.

J. D. Turner, Baltimore, Md.
 W. C. Walsh, Cumberland, Md.
 Joseph B. Fitzgerald, member Wolfe Tone Club, Jersey City, N. J.
 Jerome O'Keeffe, Jersey City, N. J.
 John G. McTigue, New York, N. Y.
 R. T. B. Kelly, Gardner, Mass.
 James Tumulty, 646 Bergen Avenue, Jersey City, N. J., president of Wolfe Tone Club, Jersey City, N. J.
 P. J. O'Donnell, Detroit, Mich.
 D. Lynch, Utica, N. Y.
 Miss Margaret Bowers, New York, N. Y.
 John B. Burke, Gary, Ind.
 William J. Maloney, Gary, Ind.
 M. C. Ford, Oklahoma City, Okla.

Senator BRANDEGEE. Mr. Chairman, I suggest the absence of a quorum. I would like the record to state the names of those present.

The CHAIRMAN. The clerk will call the roll.

The clerk called the roll and the following members answered to their names: Senators Lodge, Borah, Brandegee, Fall, Knox, Harding, Johnson, New, Moses, Swanson, and Pittman.

The CHAIRMAN. There are 12 Senators present, a quorum. Judge Cohalan, you may put on your next speaker.

Senator BORAH. Before that is done, Mr. Chairman, I want to make a suggestion with reference to the gentlemen who are still to address the committee. The argument has been made by the advocates of the league and by some of our colleagues that under the league of nations Ireland would have a better opportunity or a better chance of having her affairs settled in harmony with her aspirations than without it. You gentlemen having kept close tab, undoubtedly, upon the debate along that line of argument, will appreciate what I say. I would like to have some one address his attention to that feature of the question.

Judge COHALAN. That will be done during the course of the hearing. Mr. Chairman, I want to put in the record a memorial, with certain figures.

The CHAIRMAN. They will be printed, and as our time is limited, we will not take the time to read them now.

Judge COHALAN. Very well. Mr. Chairman, I am also going to file Ireland's declaration of independence along with other official documents, and some extension of my remarks.

(The extension of Judge Cohalan's remarks and the declaration of independence referred to are here printed in full, as follows:)

The great trouble with the mass of the people of America on the question of Ireland is their viewpoint on the Irish question. Without intending to be unfair, they take for granted the justice of the English view. They find England, largely the mistress of the world and in many ways admitted to be the leader of modern civilization, in possession of Ireland.

They find, according to histories mainly written by England's friends, that she has been thus in Ireland for centuries, and they take it for granted that she must be there legally; that she is there as a matter of right. They take for granted, too, that in the evolution of civilization, in the making of history, that conditions required her to be there, and that England's claim to the overlordship in Ireland is a valid and just claim.

This view is strengthened by all the literature which most Americans ever read. The so-called English literature with which Americans come in contact usually rates England as the one great power which, through the centuries past, has been carrying aloft the torch of justice and progress into the dark corners of the world. So, it is not to be wondered at that many Americans are prone to think of England as the guiding star of civilization, educating and

lifting up downtrodden, suffering people that have been tyrannized over by their national tyrants.

This is the view of England that Englishmen like to have the world take of their country. Because of this viewpoint, it is extremely difficult to get before the American jury—fair as it intends to be—the actual facts of history, not to speak of the present-day conditions as they exist in Ireland.

THE DOMINATING FIGURES IN ENGLAND.

The ordinary American, accustomed to giving almost all of his time to a study of the internal conditions of his own country, so far as his interests leads him on, has not learned to differentiate between the England which is and the England that, according to her writers and poets, seems to be.

He has not come to understand that the English democracy of which he hears and reads so much has little reality in fact, and that England still continues to be governed by a handful of men, representing, with but few exceptions, the same small group of titled land-controlling families that have governed England since the days of Henry XIII, if not, in fact, much longer. Since the downfall of continental aristocracies this is true of England more than of any other country.

The dominating figures in England to-day—those in actual power—are the Cecils and their relations. Lloyd-George or some other figure that has come to represent democracy or radicalism, if you will, in the eyes of the world, is put forward as the premier of governing authority. But the will that dominates, controls, and finally directs the policies and actions of England is that of the master spirit Cecil, no matter which member of that family or its connections it may happen to be.

In the last generation it was the Marquis of Salisbury, former premier of England, the man who said, some forty years ago, that England and America were natural rivals in every court and in every port; the man who more than any other—with the exception of Joseph Chamberlain, the great radical who rattled and joined the forces of conservation—was responsible for the destruction of the two little Republics in South Africa.

It was this same Salisbury who said, in the days when the Irish were carrying everything before them in the Parliamentary fights in the House of Commons, that the Irish were no better than the Hottentots and should receive the same treatment. It was the same man who represented England in the Congress of Berlin and of whom Bismarck said—because he quit when opposed by superior force—that he reminded him of a lath, painted to look like iron.

Salisbury was aided and was succeeded by his nephew, Arthur James Balfour, who became Premier of England, first Lord of the Admiralty, and a number of other high-sounding things, but who has never been able to wipe out the title of "Bloody Balfour" conferred upon him by the people of Ireland when he was chief secretary for Ireland, and, among other things, ordered the shooting, if necessary, by the troops, in cold blood, of the defenseless, unarmed people of Mitchelstown.

Balfour is still to the fore and is probably the chief governing force in England to-day, except in so far as he is displaced by his cousin, Lord Robert Cecil, son of the Marquis of Salisbury and father of the proposed League of Nations—which would, if it became effective, undo the work of the revolution and put us in the position of again being a vassal state of England, subject to the control of the Cecils or any other landed aristocracy that might, in the future, control the destinies of England and the world.

These are types of the men who dominate England, and, through her, control the British Empire. The little King George V, first cousin to the late Emperor of the Germans and the Czar of the Russians, at present represents the German royal family as King of England and Emperor of India.

He rules over every third person on earth and over almost every third square mile of land on earth. He is actually master of all the seas and is at the head of a government more powerful than any which ever before existed in all the history of mankind.

Englishmen like to say that King George reigns but does not rule. That is true. The real ruling force is that handful of aristocrats who represent the landed feudal aristocracy of England and who form the most absolute, most arbitrary and most powerful autocracy the world has ever seen.

ENGLAND MAKES OTHER NATIONS SUPPLY THE SOLDIERS.

The history of England differs from that of every other country. No other country before her has reached her dominant place among the empires of the earth. Rome approached nearer to England than did any other country in similarity of methods by which she acquired world control. Her imperial motto, "Divide et Impera," marked the policy by which she subdued almost the entire world of her day and ruled the known world without a rival for centuries.

But Rome acquired most of her power through her own soldiers. The generals who led her armies to victory were of Roman blood; the soldiers who swept everything before them on the field of battle were Roman legions, who found few who could stand before them. They risked their own lives, their own blood, for the quarrels of their country, in order that her will might be imposed upon other countries.

England has improved on all this. She follows the Roman motto, but because England leaves the control of the policy of her government in the hands of her diplomats, other nations, other races, are made to supply the generals who win the battles, and the soldiers who bleed, in order that England may grow great.

ENGLAND'S POLICY TAKES ADVANTAGE OF FRIEND AND FOE.

The policy which had its beginning under Henry the Eighth has been consistently carried forward, subordinating every other interest to that of the growth of England and the extension of her power. It has been carried on through all the ages by every government which comes into power in England, no matter what its domestic policy may have been.

Englishmen may differ upon domestic problems—upon questions of taxation, of education, of religion—but as against all foreigners they are a unit and their policy is always consistently to take advantage of all openings given them throughout the world, to make and unmake alliances, to make and break treaties, to take advantage of friend and foe in order to add to the wealth and power of England and to break down those who have stood against her.

One of the results of this policy is seen to-day in the proud boast of England that the sun never sets on the British Empire. Her flag flies in triumph over territory in every continent and in most of the important islands of the seas. It is carried aloft as the flag controlling the power of every sea of the world.

Her forts guard practically all the great narrow waterways of the earth, with the exception of the Panama Canal. Yet here, by reason of her extraordinary influence over American legislation, England has acquired for her commerce all the rights and privileges enjoyed by American commerce, although the Panama Canal belongs to us, was built by America and paid for by America's treasures.

MOLDING PUBLIC OPINION OF THE WORLD.

Another and, if possible, more important result of this policy of England is the extraordinary control she has gained over public opinion in every country in the world. Her soldiers have won battles for her on land, her admirals have won fights at sea, but these are as nothing when compared to the triumph of her diplomats. No group of men in the history of the world can compare in skill, in adroitness, in finesse, in influence, with the diplomats of England.

The visible British Empire is an external monument of their triumph, but the invisible British Empire, with its control of influences in every government on earth, its thousand and one ways of making opinion through the press, the magazines, the pulpits, the schools, of every race and in every clime, is a vaster, more far-reaching monument of their finesse, their adroitness, their ability to make black seem white.

The Romans were satisfied with their triumph at arms. When their soldiers had beaten down those of the opponent, the generals and princes of the vanquished were brought to Rome and made to walk sub jugo through the streets, chained to the wheels of the chariot of the Roman Consul.

The English diplomat, more skilled in human nature, more subtle, more far-reaching in his plans, is not satisfied with such outward marks of triumph. He carries on a campaign throughout the world, to justify his actions, and, if possible, to ease his own conscience. As an example:

ENGLAND ATTEMPTS TO DESTROY THE SOUL OF IRELAND.

Even though England by brute force has been in possession of the body of Ireland for centuries, the English diplomat continues his fight to destroy the soul of Ireland. Even though he has proclaimed, at the birth of each succeeding generation, that he has again conquered Ireland, he still keeps looking in vain for a declaration from the people of Ireland that they have been conquered.

He tells himself that he has beaten the Irish because of the thousand and one cruelties he has practiced upon them, but he knows in his heart that he can not conquer the Irish people while one man and one woman of Irish blood survive.

He knows—if the world does not know—that the people of Ireland want absolute independence. He has been able with a thousand subterfuges to confuse the thought of the world on the question of what Ireland wants, but he can not deceive himself.

The Balfours and Cecils of this generation know, as well as Burleigh, their relative, in the days of the reign of Elizabeth knew, that what Ireland wants is to have England get out of Ireland, bag and baggage, and leave the people of Ireland to govern their own country in their own way.

IRELAND IS UNITED FOR ABSOLUTE INDEPENDENCE.

In the last analysis, the question between England and Ireland is simplicity itself. There are two nations, each of which wishes to rule, govern, own Ireland. One is the Irish nation, to whom Ireland belongs, for whom it was set apart by God Almighty Himself from all the rest of the world.

The Irish people have dwelt in Ireland for thousands of years, distinct and separate in a hundred ways from all other peoples, set apart in nature, in thought, in language, in custom from the rest of the world, marked by the hand of God with an individuality all their own.

The Irish people have their own strength, their own virtues, their own gifts, their own weaknesses, but differ from and are different to any and all other races of men. The Irish people have absorbed all other strains of blood that have gone into the strange country of Ireland so as to have made strangers who have gone there, after a few generations, an integral part of themselves, or, as an old writer phrased it, "more Irish than the Irish themselves."

The other nation that wishes to own, govern, and rule Ireland is the English nation, belonging to England but foreign to Ireland. A nation of great gifts, great failings; a nation that may yet, in the providence of God, reach the point where it can be made to see that it will be greater to conquer themselves than to conquer a city or a world; greater to bring peace, contentment, and opportunity for decent living, not to some portion of itself but to all its people, so that it may not be said in the future, as it was said in the past, in a recent report of a British commission, that one-third of the people of England did not have a week between themselves and starvation.

IRELAND ONLY WANTS WHAT BELONGS TO HER.

If the question between Ireland and England were between two individuals, no jury sitting in any part of America would have any difficulty in disposing of the matter. Ireland does not ask anything of England except to be let alone. She wants only what belongs to her. She wants only that which was her own. She wants to govern herself and her own people in her own way, according to her own standards, and with absolute religious freedom and political equality for all of her children.

Ireland does not ask one inch of territory that is not contained within the four seas of Ireland. She does not ask to impose her will upon a single person who dwells beyond her shores. She appeals to the free people of the earth for the opportunity to go her own way, in peace and harmony with all the rest of mankind. She offers not alone to forgive, but so far as she can, even to forget past dealings with England and to dwell in peace and amity and concord with England as a neighbor.

But she refuses, as she has refused for 750 years, to permit the stranger—England—to govern her, to control her resources, to shut her off from contact with the other nations of the earth, to keep her out of her high place among the nations. She says, with the voice of a united people—not in a quarrelsome way, but in the quiet voice of reasoned judgment—that as she has fought for

750 years for her independence, so she is prepared to fight, if necessary, as long again in order to attain that independence, and to resume her place among the independent nations.

Her sons say for her, quite calmly, with knowledge of the fact that though scattered all over the world, they yet remain a great race, that England with all her power, with all her subtlety, with all her barbarity, can not destroy them or wipe them out. That the fight which England waged through so many centuries can only end when England shall withdraw her last soldier from Ireland and leave that country, which she has been robbing for centuries, to govern and rule herself.

The diplomat of England has succeeded in many parts of the world as has no other diplomat in the history of mankind, but he has failed in Ireland as absolutely and completely as any diplomat has failed in other parts of the world.

It may be said without exaggeration that England has tried for centuries every form of tyranny, of cruelty, of inhumanity in her treatment of the people of Ireland. Her chief spokesman, Lloyd-George, admitted in the House of Commons last year that England had made an absolute failure of her government of Ireland, and that to-day she was as unpopular with the mass of the people of Ireland as she was in the days of Oliver Cromwell.

BELGIAN ATROCITIES DUPLICATED A HUNDRED-FOLD IN IRELAND.

In the early stages of the late Great War, the world was made familiar with the story of the treatment the Belgians received in their own country at the hands of the invaders. It was but the recital and summary of England's treatment of Ireland. Not an atrocity was charged against the Germans in Belgium, not a cruelty was practiced, not a crime committed, which could not be duplicated one hundred-fold in England's treatment of Ireland.

Proof of this fact need only be taken from the admissions of English historians; from the declarations of English statesmen—the only difference between Belgium and Ireland being that the atrocities in Belgium extended over a period of three or four years, while the atrocities of England in Ireland have extended over the centuries.

Belgium to-day, with a chorus of thanksgiving from all over the world, has resumed her place among the free nations of the earth and is to be indemnified in so far as money can indemnify a suffering country for losses sustained.

Ireland to-day, after seven and a half centuries of greater suffering still lies prostrate at the feet of England, while English statesmen, with a smug hypocrisy all their own, dilate with well-stimulated astonishment on the dreadful fact that England can not leave Ireland to be governed by Irishmen, because, forsooth, the Irish can not agree politically among themselves.

NO SUCH POLITICAL UNANIMITY EXISTS ELSEWHERE IN THE WORLD.

The fact is, however, that there is in Ireland to-day a degree of political unanimity greater than exists in any other country on earth—very much greater than that which exists in England, where Lloyd-George and his confederates are kept in power through a political coalition between eight different groups, and much greater than exists in our own country.

Ireland is the only country in the world in which a plebiscite has been taken since the armistice was declared last November. The result of that plebiscite was that the people of Ireland, by a vote of more than three to one, declared in favor of absolute separation from England and in favor of the establishment of an Irish republic.

This was on the 14th of last December. On the 21st day of January of this year the elected representatives of the people of Ireland met in convention at the Mansion House in the city of Dublin, declared the existence of the Irish republic, and made an appeal to the free peoples of the earth for its international recognition.

In furtherance of that appeal, Eamon de Valera, president of the Irish republic, and several members of the Dail Eireann (Irish congress) are now in this country. They seek to lay before the people of America actual conditions as they exist in Ireland to-day. They ask a hearing in order that America may understand that what the people of Ireland are asking is full recognition of their status as a free and independent people.

They seek not some redress of grievances, large or small, but they demand that England take her grip off Ireland and leave the country to be governed by its own people in its own way. The opinion of America has been aroused within the last year as it never has been before in favor of Ireland.

ENGLAND AIMS TO CONFUSE THE ISSUE.

But the English diplomats with their accustomed skill are seeking to confuse the issue, to prevent our people from getting a clear understanding of what is at stake between Ireland and England.

It is their task, their duty at this time, not to simplify but to complicate the issue; not to clarify, but to confuse the situation. Because of that, there appear in a hundred forms, a hundred suggestions from England as to a way out of the difficulty.

One group talks of Dominion home rule, while others talk of a dozen varieties of the same form. Carson talks of having conditions remain as they are, while Smuts—the “slim” South African who believes all peoples should continue to be swallowed up by the British Empire—comes forward with that latest suggestion that Ireland should receive the same recognition as that given to Bohemia.

But all ask for Ireland something which England wants—none offers to Ireland that which Ireland demands; because at bottom—let them explain as they may—in any one of the hundred devious devices English statesmen and historians have used in attempting to explain it—the fact is that England remains in Ireland for England’s profit, security, and power, and does not intend to get out of Ireland until she is persuaded, either by force or by the prospect of greater profit in some other form, that it is to her interest to do so.

England says she remains in Ireland only for two reasons: First, because Irishmen can not agree politically, and, second, because Ireland can not financially stand alone. Neither statement has the slightest foundation in fact.

PLEBISCITE TAKEN IN DECEMBER REFUTES FIRST CLAIM.

The plebiscite taken in Ireland last December, under the most adverse conditions, shows that the people of Ireland have reached a degree of political unanimity practically without parallel. With the great English army of occupation and with all the machinery of the Government in possession of the English garrison, the people of Ireland, by a vote of more than 3 to 1, decided in favor of total separation of Ireland from England.

According to the standard American histories, Washington and his associates were never able to rally to their support more than a majority of the colonists, if, in truth, they ever had so large a proportion of the colonists on their side.

Even in the so-called convention presided over by Sir Horace Plunkett and hand picked by Lloyd George, there was a majority of 40 to 29 in favor of the proposed plan then given, which would have gone beyond the scheme of so-called settlement now proposed by many responsible spokesmen for England. This is the more remarkable when it is considered that a large number of the members of that body were selected by Lloyd George and his associates for the express purpose of having them fail to agree to any settlement.

If the situation were not one of so much importance it would be farcical to hear Lloyd George talk about the failure of the Irish to agree, when he himself remains in power in England, through a coalition made up of eight different groups, and was the direct cause of the so-called failure to which he refers.

ENGLAND REMAINS IN IRELAND FOR HER OWN FINANCIAL GAIN.

England dares not to say that she remains in Ireland, because Ireland can not financially stand alone. This, in spite of the fact that last year England made at least \$225,000,000 from her control of Ireland. She collected from Ireland and on Irish goods, during the preceding year a revenue of more than 34,000,000 pounds. She spent on what she is pleased to call the “government” of Ireland, about 13,000,000 pounds, leaving a profit to herself of 21,000,000 pounds, an equivalent of about \$105,000,000 profit gathered to herself through taxation of Ireland.

Ireland did with the rest of the world the previous year a business of \$820,000,000, according to Sir Horance Plunkett, though other spokesmen for England say this estimate is entirely too low. Of the foreign business done

by Ireland, more than 95 per cent was done with England. Why? Because England has so completely cut Ireland off from the rest of the world that she is unable to send goods abroad except through England, or to buy abroad except through England, thus being compelled, against all economic law, to sell in the cheapest market and to buy in the dearest market.

It is only fair to presume, as a result of this, that the English tradesman, who is as shrewd, as adroit, as far seeing in his own field as is the English diplomat in the field of Government, made a profit of at least 15 per cent on the turn over of this business with Ireland.

Ireland thus gives to England, in addition to the taxation, the profit of \$120,000,000, thus making for England in a single year a profit of vast proportions—a profit of \$225,000,000 from her control of Ireland. That sum represents 225,000,000 reasons why England wishes to remain in Ireland. She is there as a matter of profit. She is there as a matter of interest. But above all other reasons, strong and selfish as they are, England remains in Ireland because she regards her continued control of Ireland as vital and essential to her continued control of the seas.

ENGLAND USES IRELAND FOR A GREAT DAIRY FARM.

Much has been made by the spokesmen of England of the claim that Ireland must remain attached to England because England is the chief market for Irish goods, and the country through which Ireland's commerce with the world must be carried on, if Ireland is to seek a world market.

No more damning indictment could be brought against England than is brought by this bit of English propaganda. The simple outstanding fact is that England does not buy one dollar's worth of goods from Ireland which she could buy cheaper in any other part of the world. Further, because of her absolute control of the seas of the world, and of her economic contact with every other country on earth, England does not sell to Ireland one single article, no matter how insignificant, for which she could find a better price in any other part of the globe.

England uses Ireland for a great dairy farm, a broad grazing land, in order that food may be provided at the lowest possible price, for the teeming millions in the industrial centers of England. She uses Ireland as a dumping ground for the excess products of her factories—excess products which are turned out by her manufacturers either to meet special competition in some other country or in order to keep her industrial workers employed so that they may not have time to think too much about the grievances and the industrial problems that lead to revolution.

ENGLAND DESTROYED THE POPULATION OF IRELAND.

The world recently rang with English propaganda in the form of stories of the tyrannies of the Czar of the Russias and of the government of the Central Empires. These empires have gone, and properly gone, the ways of every other tyrant of past history, but the fact remains that at their worst these powers did not keep the population of Alsace-Lorraine, of Schleswig-Holstein, of Galicia, from greatly increasing in numbers and in prosperity.

Nor did the brutalities and outrageous excesses of power of the successive Czars of the Russias prevent Russian Poland from growing greatly in population and in wealth. Yet in the 70 years from 1845 to 1915, the population of Ireland, under what English spokesmen are pleased to call the benign reigns of Victoria, of Edward VII, and of George V, has decreased from more than eight and three-quarter millions to 4,390,219.

GOVERNMENT-MADE FAMINES TO DESTROY THE PEOPLE OF IRELAND.

In that time, in spite of the cruelties and misgovernment practiced upon the people of those continental countries, no charge has been made and has been proved—as in the case of Ireland—of a government-made famine in which more than one million starved to death in a land of plenty, and another two million were sent across the seas to seek in foreign countries an opportunity to live, an opportunity of which they were deprived in their own land by reason of the inhumanity of an alien government.

England has systematically broken down every effort made to build up the industries, to develop the resources of Ireland, while her spokesmen sing in chorus that all the wrongs of Ireland are ancient wrongs and that Ireland is to-day governed by the same laws that govern England, and therefore the Irish people should be contented with their lot and cease to cry for liberty.

These assertions do not bear the slightest investigation of an impartial mind. Ireland has been turned into a grazing country by the laws of England and by acts of the English Government. The system of laws made for a highly complex industrial state like England are utterly out of place in a country whose main pursuit is made to be agriculture.

GREAT HARBOURS OF IRELAND IN IDLENESS.

The shipping controlled by England cuts Ireland off from all contact with the rest of the world and keeps in idleness 20 of the greatest harbors of Europe. It prevents the modern development of the ports of Cork, Limerick, Galway, Sligo, and Dublin, ports which centuries ago were great trading ports, carrying on extensive commerce with the countries of continental Europe.

The railroads of the smaller and poorer country are controlled by the railroads of the richer and larger country, so that it cost until recently as much to send a barrel of flour across from Galway to Dublin as it would to send it from Chicago to Liverpool.

Most of the banks in Ireland are bought up or controlled by the banks of England, with the result that the deposits are not invested in Ireland for the development of its resources or the upbuilding of its industries, but are placed at the disposal of English manufacturers and business men to aid in their schemes for exploiting the rest of the world and beating down the industrial rivals of England in Europe and in the United States of America.

The Irish mercantile marine, which for centuries carried on a commerce with continental Europe and America, has been wiped out of existence by adverse English laws. It has been replaced only by ships which bring Ireland's goods to England and England's goods to Ireland in such a manner as to make the Irish market to all intents and purposes the private monopoly of England.

England, roughly speaking, is one and one-half times the size of Ireland in square miles. When the act of union was laid upon Ireland, January 1, 1801, the population of Ireland was almost 6,000,000 and the population of England was less than 9,000,000. To-day, the population of England is over 36,000,000, and the population of Ireland, according to the latest English census, is 4,390,219. At the same date which marks the application of the act of union to Ireland, the population of Scotland was 1,700,000, while to-day, for the first time in history, it is larger than the population of Ireland.

IRELAND VICIOUSLY MISREPRESENTED ABROAD.

If Ireland had been satisfied to become the contented province of England and to abandon her fight for liberty and her desire for independence; if she would consent to become absorbed into England, to become a part of the English people, she would undoubtedly enjoy a prosperity that would mean all that the word implies.

It is because of the fact that she will not consent to such an arrangement, it is because she regards the ideal as of more consequence, even in this life, than she does the material, that Ireland must continue to be misrepresented abroad. If England has her way, her rule will continue in Ireland until that day and that generation when the British Empire, following all the other mighty empires of the past, shall hear the hour of her doom strike and shall be compelled to give way to the onward march of events which will carry its end into the mighty empire and bring freedom to the peoples all over the earth who are oppressed by it. Thoughtful observers the world over agree that that day is not far distant.

England has time after time overrun Ireland with her armies, with her confiscators, but she has never conquered Ireland, and unless all signs by which the future may be gauged fail, she never can conquer Ireland.

To-day England faces an Irish race scattered all over the world, totaling 30,000,000 of people. She may boast that the sun never sets on the British Empire, but she must also admit that it never sets on the man of Irish blood. Wherever he has gone, into whatever country he may have been absorbed, he remains distinctively hostile to the British Government and the things for which that Government stands.

He was, as American historians tell us, the first to raise the banner of revolt against England in this country. According to that scholarly volume, 'Hidden Phases of American History,' by Michael J. O'Brien, 38 per cent of the rank and file of Washington's Army were Irishmen or sons of Irishmen—the most determined, the most unfaltering enemy England had in America.

He harbors no enmity against the English people. He pities rather than condemns them for the injustice under which they suffer. He understands the economic slavery which is imposed upon them—but he is the untiring, the unfaltering, enemy of the conscienceless chicanery and corrupting materialism which are the chief weapons of English diplomacy.

AMERICA WAS LED INTO THE WAR TO PUT AN END TO AUTOCRACY.

England may control statesmen, she may thunder from the pulpits and she may speak through the impersonal editorials of the press in various countries. She may purchase poets, she may hire apologists, she may rewrite school histories, but ever and always there will be men rising up throughout the world to thwart her schemes, to prevent the consummation of her carefully laid plans, to point out the facts of history, and to arouse the liberty-loving people of the world to a realization of the fact that there can be no freedom on earth until the autocracy which hides behind the mask of navalism is as completely broken as was that which was covered by the garb of militarism.

England may succeed—as she has succeeded—in cajoling or outmaneuvering the spokesmen of free peoples at the conference of Versailles; she may write the terms of peace there as she wrote them at Vienna a century before—but she can not stifle the conscience of the world. She can not satisfy America with the assertion that the war has been won because German and Russian militarism has been broken.

America was led into the war to put an end to autocracy, and that means autocracy in every form. America entered the war to break down special privileges in all Governments and to see that not only militarism, but its twin sister, navalism, was broken beyond repair.

If America had not gone into the war it would have ended in an entirely different way. We threw our strength, our youth, our vigor, our idealism into the scales and we freely expressed our belief that when we won—for there was no “if” about it once we went into the war—there would be an end to autocracy.

We declared there would be self-determination for all peoples; that there would be freedom of the seas—that freedom for which America through all her history has contended and for which she waged one victorious war.

America won the war, Sir Douglas Haig's comments to the contrary notwithstanding. America threw her soul, her honor, her ideals into the winning of the war, and America will not now be satisfied until all the peoples of the earth gather in the fruits of that victory.

There can be no just or permanent peace if, after destroying one form of autocracy, we leave another form more strongly entrenched than ever and resting upon a firmer foundation. The plain people throughout the world will not rest while two great empires remain, their strength buttressed and fortified by a peace which able spokesmen of these empires, with superior courage, superior diplomacy, with greater skill, impose upon mankind.

America magnificently won the war. America has failed to make the peace. America's spokesmen laid down splendidly the terms of peace which were to satisfy the world and which were agreed to in advance by the spokesmen of England, of France, of Italy. But America's spokesmen have been outplayed, outclassed, by the veteran diplomats of the latter countries.

America was satisfied with the proposed terms of peace. She is utterly dissatisfied with the proposed peace treaty and its accompanying league of nations as drawn by Cecil and Smuts and now urged by the President of the United States as something behind which he may hide the discomfiture resulting from his encounter with the skilled diplomats of the Old World.

Gloss over the story as one may, the fact remains that out of the conference at Versailles there have emerged two great powers greatly strengthened—the island empires of England and Japan. These two empires are now seizing and taking to themselves the choicest spots on earth, adding tremendously to their already swollen power.

THE WAR, FOUGHT FOR DEMOCRACY, ENTHRONES AUTOCRACY.

England, whose spokesman assured us one hundred times during the war that she sought no territory, has had, in her own accustomed style, forced upon her “unwilling” shoulders huge strips of land which nominally belonged to the German Empire but which really belonged to their inhabitants. These people,

as the result of the war, are simply transferred from one group of exploiters to another, and a more experienced group.

Forty million Chinese Republicans were torn from their own country with the immense province of Shantung and turned over to the Empire of Japan, thus making it larger, in point of population, than the United States of America.

England, which, before we entered the war, on the visit of Balfour to Washington, was in the throes of despair and on the verge of defeat, can now proudly proclaim through her mouthpiece, Lord Cecil, that she emerges from the war richer and stronger, actually and relatively, than any other country on earth.

The war, fought for democracy, may end with a peace which greatly increases the power of autocracy. The war, fought to bring freedom of the seas, ends with England in unquestioned control of all the oceans of the earth. The war, fought to bring self-determination to all the peoples of the earth, has the doctrine of English pre-determination applied to some parts of the continent, in order temporarily to break up and permanently to cripple her European rivals. This doctrine is applied to Asia in such a way that the Japanese predetermination may apply to the continent of Asia to the end that she may eventually absorb China and be ready with her intimate ally and close friend, England, for any emergency that may arise in any part of the world.

THE TWO GREAT EMPIRES INSIST THAT AMERICA GUARANTEE THEIR POSSESSIONS.

Not satisfied with their own power to retain that which the self-satisfied and temporary spokesman for America has permitted them to absorb, England and Japan are insisting through Clause X in the proposed League of Nations that America shall guarantee for all time the present territorial integrity of the two remaining empires on earth.

One little knows the fierce passion for democracy which burns in the breast of the average American if he thinks that such a scheme will ever succeed. For 143 years, America has been fighting with ever-increasing vigor the battle of democracy.

America has ever been to the forefront in the struggle for human rights. She has sought to put an end in every way to the special privileges of the few. She favors the rights of the many and she will not now permit any man speaking for her to reverse her position, to destroy her old ideals, or to prevent her from carrying on the struggle until democracy shall finally triumph and the last stronghold of autocracy be destroyed.

SHANTUNG A MONSTROUS ACT.

The transfer of Shantung with its 40,000,000 people from the great young democracy of China to the absolutist Empire of Japan is a monstrous act, indefensible, high-handed, un-American. The attempt to have us guarantee the territorial integrity of England and Japan is a monstrous and a cowardly act, an attempt not alone to truckle to the strong but to trample upon and destroy the rights of the weak. It would make us a party to every act of tyranny that hereafter was perpetrated throughout the world.

But history shows that even if it were possible for the great Senate of the United States to be false and recreant to its trust a thing like this could not be permanently done. It is asking us to do the impossible. All history teaches, all experience shows, that nothing is static in nature, that it is impossible for one generation to so impose its will on the world as to prevent a change in the boundaries of countries or in the fortunes of nations.

THE LEAGUE OF NATIONS AND THE HOLY ALLIANCE.

A century ago a "holy alliance" undertook to do the very thing that is again being attempted to-day, but not only is the "holy alliance" referred to nowadays by words of contempt and contumely, but the very governments which brought the treaty into existence are themselves but memories.

The old or little men who for the moment from time to time control the destinies of mankind may think themselves able to stop the progress of mankind and impose their wills upon advancing generations. But history shows that even the few great outstanding figures in the history of the centuries were not able thus to act for the future. And the last half century, with its seven great empires thrown into the discard, shows how fate laughs at the puny efforts of man to govern the future or control its destinies.

The world is just entering upon a great era of growth and reconstruction, yet this is the time when an old man, an older man and a very old man in whose hands fate seemed for the moment to have whimsically placed the strings of the future, chose to abandon the high-sounding battle cries upon which the war was waged and won, and to make another ill-conceived and badly executed balance of power under the name of the league of nations.

To do this, Clemenceau has tried to turn the wheels of time backward, tried to go back to the Europe of Louis XIV, breaking down the great peoples of the continent who outnumber and outbreed the French, and to set up, all over the continent, a series of buffer states that would prevent the growth of strong rivals to France, and leave her in the position of being the dominant military power of the continent.

England, running true to form, is entirely contented for the moment to have France resume her old place among the nations, so long as she may see her economic rivals on the continent broken into bits and reduced to the position of impotence and poverty.

England herself, true to her predatory instincts, seizes in the name of civilization and justice, territories almost continental in area, rich in mineral and other natural resources, to be added to her already immense empire. She emerges from the war not only the greatest empire in extent that the world has ever known, with a monopolistic control of articles essential to the comforts and conveniences of mankind, but, through her unquestioned control of the seas, she will strive for a practical monopoly of the commerce of the world.

England emerges from the war with but one economic or industrial rival upon earth, these United States of America, whose public opinion she flatters herself that she controls and whose activities she at least has been able to guide so far as to make us forgive, if we did not forget, our previous experience with her.

ENGLAND SEEKS TO FLATTER AMERICA.

Tossing everything into the scales in the last great contest in which she broke, at least for generations to come, the continental industrial rivals which were ousting her from the markets of the world, England has won decisively and absolutely, as far as empire is concerned, and now looks with complacency upon the task before her of cajoling and flattering America.

Meanwhile she carries on an economic war against us which will shut us out from the markets of the world, and which will gradually put us on the defensive in the fight that England is waging to recover the financial supremacy of the world, which she fondly believes we have but momentarily taken from her.

One plea that she has made calls attention to her tremendous sacrifices in the contest which she keeps reminding us was fought for our safety as well as for her own interests, and which many of her spokesmen, like Sir Douglas Haig, now remind us, since she is no longer in danger, was won by her and not by us.

England is shutting out the products of our manufacturers from her territories and so far as possible is shutting out our commerce in every corner of the globe and is depending upon her control of the seas to eventually shut us out from most of the foreign markets and leave us in the position where our manufacturers must be content to sell their products in so much of our own markets as England may choose to leave to us.

This is in no sense an exaggeration of what she seeks and of what she hopes. She relies upon the skill of her diplomats to bring this state of affairs about. She has very largely monopolized rubber, wool, and other essential products of the world. She is seeking every day, with ever increasing chances of success, to monopolize the oil fields of the world, while all the time, with sophisticated casuistry, she keeps, through a chorus of a thousand voices raised in the press, the pulpits, and the schools of America, assuring us that she alone in all the world is our constant friend, that but for her and her chivalrous, unselfish efforts we would have been overrun by some of the continental powers which were seeking this very world power which she now possesses to the full.

She would have us believe that she fought unselfishly in the war for the very purposes for which our President says we entered the war, yet her first act after the war was won by us to say that the doctrine of the freedom of the seas could not be even considered at Paris, and utterly unconsidered it was and still remains.

She said she favored self-determination for all oppressed peoples and agreed with the President when he said that no people must live under a government not chosen by themselves. She must cynically smile to herself when she has

the peace conference practically adjourn after having, with the help of that self-determination cloak, broken her rivals into pieces without any effort having been made to apply that doctrine to Ireland, to Egypt, to India, or to any of the other countries of which she is in possession with only the title that a robber has to his prey.

ATTEMPTS TO MAKE OVER THE MAP OF THE WORLD IN THE DARK.

She said she favored open covenants of peace, openly arrived at, and yet the "Holy Alliance" did not attempt to make over the map of the world with the same secrecy behind which these three gentlemen hid themselves at Paris. And so one might go through all of the points and find that English skill had escaped or English cynicism in arousing mankind to save England, but which were in the way when an English peace had to be made.

The Englishman has a genius for diplomacy. Not content with being saved from destruction, not content with unprecedented gains in territory, in wealth, in prestige throughout the world, he now seeks to undo what he regards as mistakes of the past and to recover by mental ability that which he lost a century and a half ago by force of arms. In his self-satisfaction, he takes no account of the fact that the thirteen colonies, if they had continued as colonies, could not have begun to save him as the forty-eight States did actually save him, as he himself must admit.

ENGLAND AIMS TO UNDO THE WORK OF THE REVOLUTION.

He wishes, now that his peril is for the moment past, to undo the work of the Revolution, to destroy the great experiment in government which the fathers set up upon these shores, and by one stroke set back the hands on the clock of time for centuries. He wishes to do this in order that the special form of privileged autocracy which governs England may regain control of this country, and with its mighty strength and unlimited resources bring about that junction of the English-speaking races which his agents like Carnegie and Rhodes have foretold and for which they have labored for two generations.

He has hoped, because of his easy control of things at Paris, that he would find that the dead hand of Rhodes had actually won the victory. But he was astounded to find not alone the Senate of the United States standing like adamant against the proposed league of nations, but the public sentiment of the people of America, aroused as never before, not only to defend American rights, but to do what he complains of as an insolent thing—to interfere in "domestic" problems of English politics.

WASHINGTON STILL THE SEAT OF THE AMERICAN GOVERNMENT.

He is horrified to find that in spite of huge expenditures, that in spite of the British propaganda of Northcliffe, Parker, and others of that ilk, America refuses to be made again into a colony, and that interest in the freedom of the seas has been aroused in America as never before.

He had been brought to believe during the pressure of the war that American public opinion was only the echo of English public opinion, and is astounded now to find that his complete victory at Paris is likely to be turned into complete defeat at Washington, where, in spite of his hopes to the contrary, and to his utter consternation, he finds the real seat of American government still continues to be found.

THE REAL STRENGTH OF ENGLAND.

England, while hastening to assure us in a hundred ways that she had no selfish interest to serve in asking to have the league of nations made operative and the integrity of the British Empire guaranteed by the power and resources of the United States, has unwittingly shown her own weakness. More and more thoughtful observers throughout the world are able to read in that demand the real opinion of English statesmen as to their own strength.

As a flash of lightning in a storm enables the observer in a second to see his way through the darkness, so the request for such guarantee by Lord Cecil has revealed the real weakness of England, instead of the apparent strength which he and his group have been teaching us to observe.

It is at once made clear that the England which must call on the world to guarantee its possessions is in a bad way both at home and abroad. It is an

admission that it can no longer hope to call upon the strength of other countries in its hour of peril in order to preserve it, as it called the world into arms against France under Napoleon and against Germany under Wilhelm.

In spite of its censorship, the rumblings of industrial labor troubles with miners and transport workers and railway men are being heard in the land. The uprisings in India and in Egypt, the dissatisfaction in Australia and in Canada, and, above all, the settled determination upon the part of the people of Ireland to take at its face value the promises of Wilson, Clemenceau, Lloyd-George, and Orlando, and to insist upon absolute self-determination, are matters which are calling the attention of mankind to the fact that there is and there can be no freedom on earth while this distended and gigantic appetite called the British Empire continues to threaten and to prey upon mankind.

AMERICA IS AT THE PARTING OF THE WAYS.

The parting of the ways has come for America. Either we remain true to our ideals, true to the traditions of the past, still the moral leader of mankind and the hope of the oppressed people of the earth, or we join with the privileged class of England and become one of the predatory powers of the world.

Either we continue to lead the forces of republicanism, whether they oppose the central empires of the continent, the Czars of the Russias, or whether they stand against the Cecils and Balfours of England or the Mikado of Japan, and bring hope and cheer to the downtrodden people of Ireland, and we stand for the preservation of American rights or we join forces with Lloyd-George, that artful dodger of English politics, in his efforts to further deceive the people and put off until another generation the settlement of the question of Ireland. The question of Ireland, it must be remembered, can only be settled right when Ireland regains her independence and takes her place once more among the nations of the earth.

Like everything else human, America can not remain static. America must either advance or retire. It must continue to lead the forces of democracy in its onward march to absolute freedom, or it must join the forces of autocracy and seek to snatch liberty from the other nations of the world.

AMERICA IS ASKED TO ENTER INTO AN ENTANGLING ALLIANCE.

We are asked now to abandon the advice given us by our first, and one of our greatest, Presidents against entering into entangling alliances with other powers. Not alone should we refuse to abandon this advice, but we should more than ever make clear to the world our unfaltering determination to abide by it and to make it one of the fundamental planks in our foreign policy. By standing by it in the past we have grown great and prosperous, masters of our own destinies, arbiters of our own fate.

We have been free to enter wars and free to remain at peace, according to the exigencies of the hour and according to what we conceived to be our own interest and the best policy for the protection of the liberties of mankind. We have been free to govern our actions by the best light and information which we could obtain upon questions at the hour of action.

Our liberty of action has not been foreclosed by reason of any commitment made in advance by those who had passed off the stage of action or were no longer in a position to speak for the majority of the people of our country. In other words, we have always been in the position of being governed by the living will of the present, rather than by the dead hand of the past.

Not along every mandate of interest, but the high call of idealism should counsel us to remain in that position and not commit ourselves to any alliance which, obeying the passion and meeting the whim of the hour, could commit those who come after us to labors and sacrifices which they should not be asked to undertake except at their own free will and upon good cause shown to them at the hour of sacrifice.

We are asked now to be satisfied with a declaration of the Monroe doctrine, which according to many thoughtful observers, weakens and jeopardizes rather than strengthens that cardinal principle of American diplomacy. In this hour when a peace conference, called into existence for the purpose of making peace, did not content itself with settling the questions at issue between the belligerents, but went up and down the world seeking problems it might settle, we

should extend and strengthen, rather than weaken, the doctrine laid down by James Monroe.

We should insist that the Western Hemisphere be not invaded by any power from the East; that no old-world possessions held here are to be increased, and we should also insist upon the absolute withdrawal from this territory of the flag of every empire or monarchy.

THE BRITISH FLAG SHOULD BE COMPELLED TO FOLLOW THE OTHER FLAGS FROM OUR SHORES.

What is sacrosanct about the British Empire that it continues to rule vast sections of the American continent after all other empires have left its shores? The flag of Russia, of Spain, of Portugal, of Denmark have been withdrawn from this hemisphere. Why should we not now insist that the flag of England should follow the others and leave here in this hemisphere, dedicated for all time to liberty and republicanism, only the flags of the free?

Why should not our great neighbor on the north, which Cecil undoubtedly hopes some day to use as a weapon to smite us, should the economic war now being waged between the countries ever reach the acute stage of military or naval warfare, or if there ever should come a conflict between England's ally, Japan, and ourselves—why should not that great country have an opportunity of taking its place among the republics of the earth, or even, if it chooses, of joining our country and thus bridging the gulf which separates us from our great territory of Alaska.

The ties which bind the people of Canada to us are every day increasing in number and in strength. The ties of trade which bind us are natural and are varied in form. The Great Lakes that lie between us are not intended to separate us, but should, by a thousand ties of commerce, draw us more closely together. Great numbers of our people come from the same racial stocks and in the late war, according to reports coming from ever-increasing sources through our returned soldiers, our own soldiers found a dozen ways in which they resembled one another for every day in which either found that they resembled the British soldiers.

CHAMBERLAIN HAS SAID THAT AN ADJOINING REPUBLIC IS A MENACE.

Thoughtful observers in the United States as well as in Canada realize that our interests are in the Western rather than in the Eastern Hemisphere, and that the views of an ever-increasing number of Canadians with relation to the future of Ireland, the future of Shantung, are those of a majority of the people of America rather than those of the governing body of England.

The people of Canada are essentially a freedom-loving people, aside from what is pleased to call itself the governing class, which seeks for special privileges like the same class in England. Canadians desire liberty for themselves and would like to see the blessings of liberty given to every people.

More than that, if there be anything in the repeated declarations of Joseph Chamberlain in his attempts to justify the rubbing out of the two little republics of South Africa that republican institutions adjoining British territory were a menace to Britain, the governing class in England can look upon the continued existence of the American republic only as a menace to England and we have now the right to ask of her, having saved England, that as an evidence of her good faith in saying that she is a friend of liberty, that she withdraw her flag from this continent and leave it to be entirely dedicated to liberty and freedom.

MAN IS SIGHING FOR PEACE.

The late war aroused mankind to a realization of the fact that without regard to the boundaries of a country or the lines of race, war is a curse to mankind; that it takes not only millions of a generation to death and leaves other millions subject to sickness and disease as an aftermath, but it imposes on the future generations a back-breaking burden of taxation which means countless hardships and privations, while it brings only to the specially privileged peoples in every country immense fortunes which break down the foundations of liberty and sap the principles on which freedom exists.

Without regard to race or religion, man is sighing for peace. He realizes that war is an abnormal condition, that peace is the normal condition, and

men are seeking as they have never sought before, to insure a peace that will prevent and destroy war.

HOPES BASED ON PEACE CONFERENCE VANISH LIKE A DREAM.

Mankind lived in the hope that the peace conference was to be a setting for the ending of all wars. Peoples were to be taken from the thralldom of their aggressors, natural boundaries were to be established between States, armaments were to be destroyed, cannon were to be made into plowshares, and the fourteen points of President Wilson were to be made the basis of an enduring peace.

The peace conference has practically adjourned and all the hopes that were based upon it are passing into oblivion like the illusions of dreams. But the mass of mankind is more than ever insistent that there must be an end to human destruction and to the awful butchery and suffering that modern war spells for humanity. It has been driven into their minds that only by freedom to the oppressed of all nations can peace come, putting an end to the rule of the few and by bringing about government by the many, bringing at once liberty to man and an end to all war.

There may be for a short time a brief respite for those who remain in power, though they have deceived the people who have seen promises solemnly made, lightly broken. But no just or permanent peace can be made until the purposes to which the American people set their hands when they entered the war have been attained, until autocracy in all its forms has been destroyed, until not alone the militarism that was breaking the back of Europe but the navalism which is oppressing and controlling the whole world shall be destroyed and the right of self-determination shall be given, not alone to some, but to all the peoples of the earth.

A COURT OF NATIONS.

A court of nations will come in its own due time that will embrace all the people of the earth, that will see to it that all peoples are free, and that will see to it that the World War will actually bring a permanent peace. Such a court will exalt justice and will destroy tyranny, but it will be a real court, open to all peoples, and not an unreal league which is only another name for an Anglo-American alliance, a Cecil-Smus plan to exalt autocracy and enslave mankind.

Every red-blooded man favors such a court of nations as he favors the brotherhood of man and the counsel of perfection, but the more intensely he favors such an ideal the more he objects to and abhors the hypocrisy which would steal the ideal in order to cover a treaty of alliance that would fasten the robber grip of England on all the world.

THE GUARANTIES OF IRELAND.

Having set forth the claims of Ireland to independence, her demand and her right to be free; having exposed the hypocrisy of England in her varied attempts to confuse the issue, having torn away the mask behind which England hoped to securely hide from the gaze of the world, let us see what Ireland offers to the world as an evidence of her good faith.

The people of Ireland seek for themselves a form of government which would do justice to all the people within the four shores of Ireland. They seek to set up a government representing equality to all, injustice to none. They demand and will insist upon political equality and religious freedom for all the people of Ireland.

They insist that the majority must rule, but that the rights of political equality and religious freedom shall be given to all members of the minority as well as of the majority.

The people of Ireland believe that the minority is entitled to guaranties, but not to control. They are ready to embody a guaranty of these rights in their constitution, as they have been embodied in the Constitution of the United States.

They are ready to adopt these things which made for success in America and to avoid those things which were found to be mistakes or errors.

CONTRASTS IRELAND AND AMERICA.

As a result of the Revolution in America estates were confiscated and men were exiled. The people of Ireland, however, are ready to say to the small group in Ulster who say they can not remain as an integral part of the Irish people that they would part with them with regret, but will guarantee to them, if they choose to sell, the full market value of all property which they own in Ireland.

The people of Ireland ask every man of whatever blood, or whatever religion, who is now in Ireland to remain in Ireland on terms which will insure absolute equality for all. They point out that there is no instance in its history of religious persecution or racial intolerance due to the majority of the people of Ireland; that wherever there has been persecution it has been by the minority, urged on against the majority by the English Government.

The people of Ireland point out that in every section of the country, in every generation, Protestants of different sect or religious persuasions have been put forward as leaders by a majority of the Irish people, called to the highest elective office within the gift of the majority of the people. They urge that no fairer way of judging the future can be found than that furnished by the experiences of the past.

They are willing at all times to accord to others the rights which they insist upon for themselves. They demand, without further delay, that their present rights shall be recognized by the world and that international recognition shall be given to the republican form of government established in Ireland after a plebiscite held on her shores last December, in the presence of the great English army of occupation and under conditions which held the machinery of government at that time in the hands of Great Britain.

All that any friend of Ireland asks of America is that present conditions in Ireland be studied fairly and dispassionately. In no other part of the world can there be found a parallel to the manner in which the population of Ireland has been reduced by the English Government within the past 70 years.

Why should England that cried out with such strength against injustice in Belgium, be permitted to maintain and continue her rule of might in Ireland? Even her apologists admit that England's rule in Ireland is based only upon her bayonets and cannon.

How can England satisfy the conscience of the world with her explanation that what is wrong in Belgium and in Alsace is right in Ireland? She says that the people of Ireland should not cry out for liberty because, forsooth, they are to-day enjoying a larger measure of prosperity than they formerly had. Why should they not have it? Is it not the result only of their own thrift, their own industry, their own labors?

The apologists of England say that Ireland did an immense business with that country last year—that this is a sufficient answer to Ireland's cry that she is badly governed! How typical was Clive of the English Government of all times when he said, after he had been accused of robbing India of immense treasure, that when he saw the wealth of the country he was astonished at his own moderation! England's statesmen feel that it is right to steal Irish sheep so long as they return a chop to the Irish owner.

The proposition is an insult to the intelligence and conscience of the world and in spite of the marvelous system of propaganda which the English diplomat has built up, he can not prevent the cry of Ireland for freedom from resounding in all parts of the world and coming back to plague him until it is satisfied by having justice done to Ireland.

The English governing class are the Bourbons of modern days. They learn nothing, forget nothing. Let them beware lest the aroused public opinion of mankind shall sweep them as it swept their German and Russian cousins into oblivion and break into bits the British Empire, which is the last bulwark of autocracy against the onrushing tide of liberty and democracy.

Judge Daniel F. Cohalan, following the conclusion of his oral argument, by permission of the committee was authorized to have incorporated as a part of the testimony presented the following:

IRELAND'S DECLARATION OF INDEPENDENCE AND OTHER OFFICIAL DOCUMENTS,
INCLUDING LETTERS TO THE PRESIDENT OF THE PEACE CONFERENCE AND THE
GENERAL MEMORANDUM SUBMITTED IN SUPPORT OF IRELAND'S CLAIM FOR RECOG-
NITION AS A SOVEREIGN INDEPENDENT STATE.

IRELAND'S DECLARATION OF INDEPENDENCE—PROCLAIMED BY DAIL EIREANN, JANUARY
21, 1919.

[Translation.]

Whereas the Irish people is by right a free people;

And whereas for 700 years the Irish people has never ceased to repudiate and has repeatedly protested in arms against foreign usurpation;

And whereas English rule in this country is, and always has been, based upon force and fraud and maintained by military occupation against the declared will of the people;

And whereas the Irish republic was proclaimed in Dublin on Easter Monday, 1916, by the Irish republican army, acting on behalf of the Irish people;

And whereas the Irish people is resolved to secure and maintain its complete independence in order to promote the common weal, to reestablish justice, to provide for future defense, to insure peace at home and good will with all nations, and to constitute a national policy based upon the people's will, with equal right and equal opportunity for every citizen;

And whereas at the threshold of a new era in history the Irish electorate has in the general election of December, 1918, seized the first occasion to declare by an overwhelming majority its firm allegiance to the Irish republic;

Now, therefore, we, the elected representatives of the ancient Irish people, in national parliament assembled, do, in the name of the Irish nation, ratify the establishment of the Irish republic, and pledge ourselves and our people to make this declaration effective by every means at our command.

To ordain that the elected representatives of the Irish people alone have power to make laws binding on the people of Ireland, and that the Irish parliament is the only parliament to which that people will give its allegiance.

We solemnly declare foreign government in Ireland to be an invasion of our national right, which we will never tolerate, and we demand the evacuation of our country by the English garrison;

We claim for our national independence the recognition and support of every free nation of the world, and we proclaim that independence to be a condition precedent to international peace hereafter;

In the name of the Irish people we humbly commit our destiny to Almighty God, who gave our fathers the courage and determination to persevere through centuries of a ruthless tyranny, and strong in the justice of the cause which they have handed down to us, we ask His divine blessing on this, the last stage of the struggle which we have pledged ourselves to carry through to freedom.

IRELAND'S MESSAGE TO THE NATIONS.

[Translation.]

To the nations of the world, greeting:

The nation of Ireland, having proclaimed her national independence, calls, through her elected representatives in parliament assembled in the Irish capital on January 21, 1919, upon every free nation to support the Irish republic by recognizing Ireland's national status and her right to its vindication by the peace congress.

Nationally, the race, the language, the customs, and traditions of Ireland are radically distinct from the English. Ireland is one of the most ancient nations of Europe, and she has preserved her national integrity vigorous and intact through seven centuries of foreign oppression; she has never relinquished her national rights, and throughout the long era of English usurpation she has in every generation defiantly proclaimed her inalienable right of nationhood down to her last glorious resort to arms in 1916.

Internationally, Ireland is the gateway to the Atlantic. Ireland is the last outpost of Europe toward the west; Ireland is the point upon which great trade routes between east and west converge; her independence is demanded by the freedom of the seas; her great harbors must be open to all nations, instead of being the monopoly of England. To-day these harbors are empty and idle solely because English policy is determined to retain Ireland as a

barren bulwark for English aggrandizement, and the unique geographical position of this island, far from being a benefit and safeguard to Europe and America, is subjected to the purposes of England's policy of world dominion.

Ireland to-day reasserts her historic nationhood the more confidently before the new world emerging from the war, because she believes in freedom and justice as the fundamental principles of international law; because she believes in a frank cooperation between the peoples for equal rights against the vested privileges of ancient tyrannies, because the permanent peace of Europe can never be secured by perpetuating military dominion for the profit of empire, but only by establishing the control of government in every land upon the basis of the free will of a free people, and the existing state of war between Ireland and England can never be ended until Ireland is definitely evacuated by the armed forces of England.

For these, among other reasons, Ireland—resolutely and irrevocably determined at the dawn of the promised era of self-determination and liberty, that she will suffer foreign dominion no longer—calls upon every free nation to uphold her national claim to complete independence as an Irish republic against the arrogant pretensions of England founded in fraud and sustained only by an overwhelming military occupation, and demands to be confronted publicly with England at the congress of nations, that the civilized world having judged between English wrong and Irish right may guarantee to Ireland its permanent support for the maintenance of her national independence.

IRELAND'S DEMOCRATIC PROGRAM—PROCLAIMED BY DAIL EIREANN.

[Translation.]

We declare in the words of the Irish Republican Proclamation the right of the people of Ireland to the ownership of Ireland and to the unfettered control of Irish destinies to be indefeasible, and in the language of our first president, Padraic Pearse, we declare that the nation's sovereignty extends not only to all men and women of the nation, but to all its material possessions; the nation's soil and all its resources, all the wealth and all the wealth-producing processes within the nation; and with him we reaffirm that all rights to private property must be subordinated to the public right and welfare.

We declare that we desire our country to be ruled in accordance with the principles of liberty, equality, and justice for all, which alone can secure permanence of government in the willing adhesion of the people.

We affirm the duty of every man and woman to give allegiance and service to the commonwealth, and declare it is the duty of the nation to assure that every citizen shall have opportunity to spend his or her strength and faculties in the service of the people. In return for willing service, we, in the name of the republic, declare the right of every citizen to an adequate share of the produce of the nation's labor.

It shall be the first duty of the government of the republic to make provision for the physical, mental, and spiritual well-being of the children, to secure that no child shall suffer hunger or cold from lack of food or clothing or shelter, but that all shall be provided with the means and facilities requisite for their proper education and training as citizens of a free and Gaelic Ireland.

The Irish republic fully realizes the necessity of abolishing the present odious, degrading, and foreign poor-law system, substituting therefor a sympathetic native scheme for the care of the nation's aged and infirm, who shall no longer be regarded as a burden, but rather entitled to the nation's gratitude and consideration. Likewise it shall be the duty of the republic to take measures that will safeguard the health of the people and insure the physical as well as the moral well-being of the nation.

It shall be our duty to promote the development of the nation's resources, to increase the productivity of the soil, to exploit its mineral deposits, peat bogs, and fisheries, its waterways and harbors, in the interest and for the benefit of the Irish people.

It shall be the duty of the republic to adopt all measures necessary for the re-creation and invigoration of our industries, and to insure their being developed on the most beneficial and progressive cooperative industrial lines. With the adoption of an extensive Irish consular service, trade with foreign nations shall be revived on terms of mutual advantage and good will; while undertaking the organization of the nation's trade, import and export, it shall be the duty of the republic to prevent the shipment from Ireland of food and other necessities until the wants of the Irish people are fully satisfied and the future provided for.

It shall devolve upon the national government to seek the cooperation of the governments of other countries in determining a standard of social and industrial legislation with a view to a general and lasting improvement in the conditions under which the working classes live and labor.

LETTER FROM THE IRISH DELEGATES APPOINTED BY DAIL EIREANN TO PRESENT IRELAND'S CASE.

MANSION HOUSE, DUBLIN, *May 17, 1919.*

Monsieur CLEMENCEAU,

President of the Peace Conference, Paris.

SIR: The treaties now under discussion by the conference of Paris will, presumably, be signed by the British plenipotentiaries claiming to act on behalf of Ireland as well as Great Britain.

Therefore we ask you to call the immediate attention of the peace conference to the warning which it is our duty to communicate, that the people of Ireland, through all its organic means of declaration, has repudiated and does now repudiate the claim of the British Government to speak or act on behalf of Ireland, and consequently no treaty or agreement entered into by the representatives of the British Government in virtue of that claim is or can be binding on the people of Ireland.

The Irish people will scrupulously observe any treaty obligation to which they are legitimately committed; but the British delegates can not commit Ireland. The only signatures by which the Irish nation will be bound are those of its own delegates, deliberately chosen.

We request you to notify the peace conference that we, the undersigned, have been appointed and authorized by the duly elected Government of Ireland to act on behalf of Ireland in the proceedings of the conference and to enter into agreements and sign treaties on behalf of Ireland.

Accept, sir, the assurance of our great esteem.

EAMON DE VALERA,
ARTHUR GRIFFITH,
GEORGE NOBLE COUNT PLUNKETT.

LETTER FROM THE IRISH DELEGATES APPOINTED BY DAIL EIREANN TO PRESENT IRELAND'S CASE.

MANSION HOUSE, DUBLIN, *May 26, 1919.*

Monsieur GEORGES CLEMENCEAU,

President of the Peace Conference, Paris.

SIR: On May 17 we forwarded to you a note requesting you to warn the conference that the Irish people will not be bound by the signatures of English or British delegates to the conference, inasmuch as these delegates do not represent Ireland.

We now further request that you will provide an opportunity for the consideration by the conference of Ireland's claim to be recognized as an independent sovereign state.

We send you herewith a general memorandum on the case and beg to direct your attention in particular to the following:

(1) That the rule of Ireland by England has been and is now intolerable; that it is contrary to all conceptions of liberty and justice, and as such, on the ground of humanity alone, should be ended by the conference.

(2) That the declared object of the conference is to establish a lasting peace which is admittedly impossible if the legitimate claims of self-determination of nations such as Ireland be denied.

(3) That incorporated with the peace treaty under consideration as a covenant establishing a league of nations intended amongst other things to confirm and perpetuate the political relationships and conditions established by the treaty. It is clear that it is radically unjust to seek to confirm and perpetuate what is essentially wrong and that it is indefensible to refuse an examination of title when a confirmation of possession is intended such as that provided by the draft covenant of the League of Nations.

Ireland definitely denies that England or Britain can show any just claim or title to hold or possess Ireland and demands an opportunity for her representatives to appear before the conference to refute any such claim.

We feel that these facts are sufficient basis to merit for our requests the consideration which we are sure you, sir, will give them.

Please accept, Mr. President, the assurance of our great esteem.

EAMON DE VALERA,
ARTHUR GRIFFITH,
GEORGE NOBLE COUNT PLUNKETT.

LETTER FROM THE IRISH DELEGATES APPOINTED BY DAIL ERREANN TO PRESENT IRELAND'S CASE.

MANSION HOUSE, DUBLIN, May 26, 1919.

To the CHAIRMAN,
Council of League of Nations, Paris.

SIR: The Irish people share the view that a lasting peace can only be secured by a world league of nations pledged, when a clash of interests occurs, to use methods of conciliation and arbitration instead of those of force. They are consequently desirous that their nation should be included as a constituent member of such a league.

Therefore, we, the delegates of the nation, chosen and duly authorized for the purpose by the elected National Government of Ireland, desire to intimate through you that we are ready to take part in any conversations and discussions which may be necessary in order that the foundations of the league may be properly laid, and we ask the commission to provide us with an opportunity for doing so.

Apart from the general grounds of right, the Irish nation has a special and peculiar interest in the league at present proposed.

In the form in which the covenant is now drawn up it threatens to confirm Ireland in the slavery against which she has persistently struggled since the English first invaded her shores, and to pledge the rest of the civilized world, which has hitherto done us no wrong, to discountenance in future our just endeavors to free ourselves from the régime of implacable and brutal oppression under which we have suffered so long.

Ireland is a distinct and separate nation with individual inalienable rights which any league of nations founded on justice is bound to recognize.

Accept, sir, the assurance of our great esteem.

EAMON DE VALERA,
ARTHUR GRIFFITH,
GEORGE NOBLE COUNT PLUNKETT.

O'KELLY'S LETTER NO. 1 TO PREMIER CLEMENCEAU AND ALL THE PEACE CONFERENCE DELEGATES.

PARIS, February 22, 1919.

SIR: As the accredited envoy of the provisional government of the Irish republic, I have the honor to bring to your notice the claim of my government, in the name of the Irish nation, for the international recognition of the independence of Ireland, and for the admission of Ireland as a constituent member of the league of nations.

The Irish people seized the opportunity of the general election of December, 1918, to declare unmistakably its national will; only in 26 (out of 105) constituencies of the country was England able to find enough "loyalists" to return members favorable to the union between Ireland and Great Britain; for the remaining 79 seats the electors chose as members men who believed in self-determination; of these, 73 who now represent an immense majority of the people went forward as republican candidates, and each of these republican members has pledged himself to assert by every means in his power the right of Ireland to the complete independence which she demands, under a national republican government, free from all English interferences.

On the 21st of January, 1919, those of the republican members whom England had not yet cast into her prisons met in the Irish capital in a national assembly, to which, as the only Irish parliament de jure, they had summoned all Irish members of parliament; on the same day the national assembly unanimously voted the declaration of independence appended hereto and unanimously issued the message to the free nations, likewise appended.

The national assembly has also caused a detailed statement of the case of Ireland to be drawn up; that statement will demonstrate that the right of Ireland to be considered a nation admits of no denial, and, moreover, that that right is inferior in no respect to that of the new States constituted in Europe and recognized since the war; three members, Eamon de Valera, Mr. Arthur Griffith, and Count Plunkett, have been delegated by the national assembly to present the statement to the peace congress and to the league of nations commission in the name of the Irish people.

Accordingly, I have the honor, sir, to beg you to be good enough to fix a date to receive the delegates above named, who are anxious for the earliest possible opportunity to establish formally and definitely before the peace conference and the league of nations commission now assembled in Paris Ireland's indisputable right to international recognition for her independence and the propriety of her claim to enter the league of nations as one of its constituent members.

I have the honor to be, sir,

Your obedient servant,

SEAN T. O'KELLY,

Delegate of the Provisional Government of the Irish Republic.

O'KELLY'S LETTER—NO. 2.

PARIS, March 31, 1919.

To Premier Clemenceau and all the peace conference delegates.

SIR: On behalf of the Irish nation, whose accredited representative I am, I beg to draw your attention, and through you the attention of the peace conference, to the following statement with regard to Ireland:

Ireland is a nation which has exercised the right of self-determination in harmony with the principles formulated by President Wilson and accepted by the belligerents as the only sure foundation for a world peace. It is not only in the past that Ireland, generation after generation, has striven by force of arms as well as by all pacific means to regain her national freedom. At the general election last December the issue, and the only issue, placed before the Irish people was the independence of their country, and by a majority of more than three to one the representatives elected by the constitutional machinery of the ballot box are pledged to the abolition of English rule in Ireland. In none of the small nationalities with which the peace conference has hitherto occupied itself is the unanimity of the people so great; in none has the national desire for freedom been so great; in none has the desire for freedom been asserted so unmistakably and with so much emphasis. Following upon the general election, an Irish National Assembly has met; an Irish Republic has been constituted and proclaimed to the world; a President has been appointed, and with him ministers to direct different departments of state; a program of domestic policy has been issued; and an appeal has been addressed to the nations of the world to recognize the free Irish State that has thus been recalled to life. But while the national will has been declared and the mechanism of free government is ready, the former is being stifled and the latter paralyzed by England's ruthless exercise of military power. The President is a fugitive; the Irish Parliament is forced to conduct its business in secret; the most elementary civil rights are abrogated; the courts-martial are sitting at every center; and the gaols are filled with prisoners, victims of every brutality and indignity, whose only offense is that they have sought the freedom of their native land. It is in these circumstances that the Irish nation, through me, addresses the peace conference.

Ireland manifestly comes within the scope of the principles that have been indorsed by the civilized nations, and it is for the application of these principles that the peace conference is now sitting. Ireland is weak; England is strong. Ireland in every possible way has asserted her right to freedom, which England, by sheer militarism, is intent now, as always in the past, to destroy. It is only by the exercise of tyrannical power that Ireland's right to freedom can be denied. It is to the great principle of national freedom, represented and embodied in the peace conference, that Ireland, exhausted by the cruelties of English rule, her population annihilated by one-half within living memory, her industries destroyed, her natural resources wasted, her civil liberties ended, her chosen leaders proscribed and treated as felons, now makes her appeal.

Article 10 of the draft covenant of the league of nations is framed to secure national independence against the aggression of an external power. Its terms are as follows:

"The high contracting powers undertake to respect and preserve as against external aggression the territorial integrity and existing political independence of all States members of the league. In case of any aggression or in case of any threat or danger of such aggression the executive council shall advise upon the means by which this obligation shall be fulfilled."

Ireland, as a nation that has declared its independence and is pledged to the principles of freedom, justice, and peace, desires to subscribe to the covenant of the league and to claim as against England the protection of article 10. I submit to the conference with profound respect that Ireland's claim is clear and can not with any shadow of justice be refused. Should it be rejected, the consequences would be as follows:

1. Ireland henceforth must rely for her deliverance wholly upon her own efforts. No such rule has been laid down with regard to any other of the smaller nationalities whose emancipation has been made the care of the conference.

2. Nations which never have denied the right of Ireland to freedom will deprive themselves for the future of the power of countenancing her claim, and will in consequence be bound, for the first time in history, to leave her unaided to her own resources as indicated in the preceding paragraph.

3. Article 10 will impose upon all nations as a condition of membership of the league the obligation to guarantee to Great Britain a title to the possession of Ireland and dominion over the Irish people.

Against the imposition of such slavery upon Ireland, and especially against the giving of such a guaranty of title to Great Britain, I enter on behalf of the people of Ireland, in whose name I have the honor to speak, the most emphatic protest.

Great Britain's title to Ireland rests solely upon "the military power of a nation to determine the fortunes of a people over whom they have no right to rule except the right of force."

The combined guaranty of such a title against the declared protest of Ireland would constitute a definite denial of "the principle of justice to all peoples and nationalities and their right to live on equal terms of liberty and safety with one another, whether strong or weak," and without the acceptance of that principle "no part of the structure of international justice can stand."

The guaranty of such a title would be subversive of "the reign of law based upon the consent of the governed and sustained by the organized opinion of mankind."

The guaranty of such a title would constitute recognition of the right of a strong power to serve its own material interest and advantage through the exercise of its "exterior influence and mastery."

The guaranty of such a title would give Great Britain a warrant to make a nation weaker than herself "subject to her purposes and interests." It would confirm the claim of Great Britain to rule and dominate the people of Ireland "even in her own internal affairs by arbitrary and irresponsible force."

Any guaranty under article 10 of territorial integrity and political independence as affecting Ireland can rightly enure only to the benefit of the people of Ireland themselves.

In the name, therefore, of the people of Ireland I ask that the Irish nation may be invited to give their adhesion to the covenant of the league of nations, and that membership of the league—a membership available under article 7, even to colonies who have freely and legislatively subscribed to the supremacy of the English Imperial Parliament—shall not be denied to the government of a free, independent Irish republic.

I have the honor to be, sir,

Your obedient servant,

SEAN T. O'KELLY,

Delegate of the Provisional Government of the Irish Republic.

MEMORANDUM IN SUPPORT OF IRELAND'S CLAIM FOR RECOGNITION AS A SOVEREIGN INDEPENDENT STATE.

Ireland is a nation not merely for the reason, which in the case of other countries has been taken as sufficient, that she has claimed at all times and still claims to be a nation but also because, even though no claim were put forward

on her behalf, history shows her to be a distinct nation from remotely ancient times.

For over a thousand years Ireland possessed and duly exercised sovereign independence and was recognized through Europe as a distinct sovereign state.

The usurpation of the foreigner has always been disputed and resisted by the mass of the Irish people.

At various times since the coming of the English the Irish nation has exercised its sovereign rights as opportunity offered.

The hope of recovering its full and permanent sovereignty has always been alive in the breasts of the Irish people, and has been the inspiration and the mainspring of their political activities abroad as well as at home.

English statecraft has long and persistently striven in vain to force the Irish people to abandon hope. The English policy of repression, spiritual and material, has ever been active from the first intrusion of English power until the present day.

English policy has always aimed at keeping every new accretion of population from without separate from the rest of the nation, and a cause of distraction and weakness in its midst.

Nevertheless, the Irish nation has remained one, with a vigorous consciousness of its nationality, and has always succeeded sooner or later in assimilating to its unity every new element of the population.

The Irish nation has never been intolerent toward its minorities and has never harbored the spirit of persecution. Such barbarities as punishment by torture, witch burning, capital punishment for minor offenses, etc., so frequent in the judicial systems of other countries, found no recognition in Irish law or custom. Twice in the seventeenth century—in 1642–1648 and in 1689—when, after periods of terrible persecution and deprivation of lands and liberty, the Irish people recovered for a time a dominant political power, they worked out in laws and treaties a policy of full religious equality for all dwellers in the island. On each occasion this policy of tolerance was reversed by the English power, which, on recovering its mastery, subjected the Irish race to further large confiscations of property, restrictions of liberty, and religious persecutions. More recently, notwithstanding the English policy of maintaining as complete a severance as possible, when Irish Protestants became attracted to the support of the national cause, the Catholics of Ireland accorded political leadership to a succession of Protestant leaders.

The Irish have long been a thoroughly democratic people. Through their chosen leaders, from O'Connell to Parnell, they have provided the world with a model of democratic organization in opposition to the domination of privileged classes.

If Ireland, on the grounds of national right and proved ability to maintain just government, is entitled to recover her sovereign independence—and that is her demand—the recognition of her right is due from other nations for the following reasons:

(1) Because England's claim to withhold independence from Ireland is based on a principle which is a negation of national liberty and subversive of international peace and order. England resists Ireland's demand on the ground that the independence of Ireland would be, as alleged, incompatible with the security of England or of Great Britain or of the British Empire. Whether this contention is well or ill founded, if it is admitted, then any State is justified in suppressing the independence of any nation whose liberty that State declares to be incompatible with its own security. An endless prospect of future wars is the natural consequence.

(2) Because England's government of Ireland has been at all times and is conspicuously at the present time an outrage on the conscience of mankind.

Such a government, especially in its modern quasi-democratic form, is essentially vicious. Its character at the best is sufficiently described by a noted English writer, John Stuart Mill (*Representative Government* (1861) chapter 18): "The Government by itself has a meaning and a reality, but such a thing as government of one people by another does not and can not exist. One people may keep another as a warren or preserve for its own use, a place to make money in, a human cattle farm, to be worked for the profit of its own inhabitants. But if the good of the governed is the proper business of a government it is utterly impossible that a people should directly attend to it." Consequently the people of England devolve the power which they hold over Ireland upon a succession of satraps, military and civil, who are quite irresponsible and independent of any popular control, English or Irish, and repre-

sent no interest of the Irish people. Recent events show that the essential vices of the government are as active now as in former times.

(3) Because the English temper toward the cause of Irish national liberty produces atrocious and intolerable results in Ireland. Among the results are a depopulation unexampled in any other country however badly governed; wholesale destruction of industries and commerce; overtaxation on an enormous scale; diversion of rents, savings, and surplus incomes from Ireland to England; opposition to the utilization by the Irish people of the economic resources of their country, and to economic development and social improvement; exploitation of Ireland for the benefit of English capitalists; fomentation of religious animosities; repression of the national culture; maintenance of a monstrous system of police rule, by which, in the words of an English minister, all Ireland is kept "under the microscope"; perversion of justice by making political service and political subservience almost the sole qualification for judicial positions; by an elaborate corruption of the jury system by the organization of police espionage and perjury, and the encouragement of agents provocateurs, and recently and at present by using for the purpose of political oppression in Ireland the exceptional powers created for the purposes of the European war. Under these powers military government is established, some areas being treated as hostile territory occupied in ordinary warfare; a war censorship is maintained over the press and over publications generally; printing offices are invaded and dismantled; the police and military are empowered to confiscate the property of vendors of literature without any legal process; persons are imprisoned without trial and deported from Ireland; Irish regiments in the English army are removed from Ireland, and a large military force, larger than at any previous time, with full equipment for modern warfare, has been maintained in Ireland; civilians are daily arrested and tried by courts-martial and sentenced to long terms of imprisonment.

What are England's objections to Ireland's independence?

The one objection in which English statesmen are sincere is that which has been already mentioned—that the domination of Ireland by England is necessary for the security of England. Ireland, according to the English Navy League, is "the Hellgoland of the Atlantic," a naval outpost, to be governed for the sole benefit of its foreign masters. This claim, if it is valid, justifies not only the suppression of national liberty, but also the weakening of Ireland by depopulation, repression of industry and commerce and culture, maintenance of internal discord, etc. It can also be held to justify the subjugation of any small nation by a neighboring great power.

The proximity of Ireland to England furnishes another plea. But Ireland is not as near to England as Belgium, Holland, Denmark, etc., are to Germany, Norway to Sweden, Portugal to Spain. In fact, it is this very proximity that makes independence necessary for Ireland as the only condition of security against the sacrifice of Irish rights to English interests.

A further plea is that England, being a maritime power, her safety depending on her navy and her prosperity depending on maritime commerce, the domination of Ireland is for her a practical necessity—a plea involving that Ireland's natural harbors, the best in Europe, must be kept empty of mercantile shipping, except for such shipping as carries on the restricted trade between Great Britain and Ireland.

Ireland can not admit that the interests of one country, be they what they may, can be allowed to annul the natural rights of another country. If England's plea be admitted, then there is an end to national rights, and all the world must prepare to submit to armed interests or to make war against them.

We may expect also to find the plea insinuated, in some specious form if not definitely and clearly made, that the English rule in Ireland has been and is favorable to the peace, progress, and civilization of Ireland. We answer that, on the contrary, English rule has never been for the benefit of Ireland and has never been intended for the benefit of Ireland; that it has isolated Ireland from Europe, prevented her development, and done everything in its power to deprive her of a national civilization. So far as Ireland at present is lacking in internal peace, is behind other countries in education and material progress, is unable to contribute notably to the common civilization of mankind, these defects are the visible consequences of English intrusion and domination.

The Irish people have never believed in the sincerity of the public declarations of English statesmen in regard to their "war aims," except in so far as those declarations avowed England's part in the war to have been undertaken for England's particular and imperial interests. They have never believed that

England went to war for the sake of France or Belgium or Serbia, or for the protection or liberation of small nationalists, or to make right prevail against armed might. If English statesmen wish to be regarded as sincere they can prove it to the world by abandoning, not in words but in act, the claim to subordinate Ireland's liberty to England's security.

Ireland's complete liberation must follow upon the application of President Wilson's principles. It has not resulted from the verbal acceptance of those principles; and their rejection is implied in the refusal to recognize for Ireland the right of self-determination. Among the principles declared by the President, before and since America entered the war, accepted by the American people and adopted by the spokesmen of the chief allied powers, we cite the following:

"No peace can rest securely on political or economic restrictions, meant to benefit some nations and cripple or embarrass others." "Peace should rest upon the rights of peoples, not on the rights of governments—the rights of peoples, great and small, weak or powerful; their equal right to freedom and security and self-government, and to participation, upon fair terms, in the economic opportunities of the world." "What we demand in this war is nothing peculiar to ourselves. It is that the world be made fit and safe to live in, and particular that it be made safe for every peace-loving nation, which, like our own, wishes to live its own life, determine its own institutions, be assured of justice and fair dealing by other peoples of the world, as against force and selfish aggression." "An evident principle runs through the whole of the program I have outlined. It is the principle of justice to all peoples and nationalities, and their right to live on equal terms of liberty and safety with one another, whether they be strong or weak. Unless this principle be made the foundation, no part of the structure of international justice can stand."

Speaking on behalf of the American people at New York on the 27th of September, 1918, President Wilson said:

"We accepted the issues of the war as facts, not as any group of men either here or elsewhere had defined them, and we can accept no outcome which does not squarely meet and settle them. These issues are these: 'Shall the military power of any nation or group of nations be suffered to determine the fortunes of peoples over whom they have no right to rule, except the right of force?' 'Shall strong nations be free to wrong weak nations and make them subject to their purpose and interest?' 'Shall peoples be ruled and dominated, even in their own internal affairs, by arbitrary and irresponsible force, or by their own will and choice?' 'Shall there be a common standard of right and privilege for all peoples and nations, or shall the strong do as they will, and the weak suffer without redress?' 'Shall the assertion of right be haphazard and by casual alliance, or shall there be a common concert to oblige the observance of common rights?' No man, no group of men, chose these to be the issues of the struggle. They are the issues of it, and they must be settled—by no arrangement or compromise or adjustment of interests, but definitely and once for all, and with a full and unequivocal acceptance of the principle that the interest of the weakest is as safe as the interest of the strongest. * * * The impartial justice meted out must involve no discrimination between those to whom we wish to be just and those to whom we do not wish to be just. It must be a justice that plays no favorites and knows no standards but the equal rights of the several peoples concerned."

If England objects to the application of those principles to the settlement of the ancient quarrel between herself and Ireland, she thereby testifies: (1) That her international policy is entirely based on her own selfish interest, not on the recognition of rights in others, notwithstanding any professions to the contrary. (2) That in her future dealings with other nations she may be expected, when the opportunity arises, to use her power in order to make her own interest prevail over their rights. (3) That her particular object in keeping possession of Ireland is to secure naval and mercantile domination over the seas, and in particular over the North Atlantic and the nations which have legitimate maritime interests therein; ruling Ireland at the same time on a plan of thoroughgoing exploitation for her own sole profit, to the great material detriment of Ireland, and preventing the establishment of beneficial intercourse, through commerce and otherwise, between Ireland and other countries.

It is evident that, while Ireland is denied the right to choose freely and establish that form of government which the Irish people desire, no international

order can be founded on the basis of national right and international justice; the claim of the stronger to dominate the weaker will once more be successfully asserted; and there will be no true peace.

It must be recognized that Ireland has already clearly demonstrated her will. At the recent general election, out of 105 constituencies 73 returned republican candidates, and 6 returned representatives who, though not republicans, will not oppose the free exercise of self-determination by the Irish people. Nor is there the slightest likelihood that this right will at any time be relinquished.

The Irish people are thoroughly capable of taking immediate charge of their national and international affairs, not less capable than any of the new States which have been recognized since the beginning of the war, or which are about to be recognized; and by a procedure not less valid than has been held good for other restored or newly established States, they have already formally constituted a national government.

The effect on the world of the restoration of Ireland to the society of free nations can not fail to be beneficial. On the part of the nations in general, this fact will be a guarantee of the new international order and a reassurance to all the smaller nations. On the part of England, if justice to Ireland be not "denied or sold or delayed," the fact will be an earnest to other peoples, especially to those whose commerce is borne upon the Atlantic Ocean, that England's naval power is not hostile to the rights and legitimate interests of other countries.

Ireland's voice in the councils of the nations will be wholly in favor of peace and justice. Ireland covets no possessions and makes no territorial claims outside of her own well-defined geographical bounds. Her liberty can not be infringed on that of any other people. She will not make any war or aggression or favor any. In remembrance of her unexampled progress and prosperity during a brief period of legislative but not executive independence (1782-1798), she looks forward confidently to the time when she will again be free to contribute to the prosperity of all countries in commercial relation with her.

The longest agony suffered by any people in history will be ended, the oldest standing enmity between two peoples will be removed. England will be relieved of the disgrace she bears in the eyes of all peoples, a disgrace not less evident to the remote Armenian than to her nearest continental neighbors.

In proportion as England gives earnest of disinterestedness and good will, in like proportion shall Ireland show her readiness to join in with England in allowing the past to pass into history. The international ambition of Ireland will be to re-create in some new way that period of her ancient independence of which she is proudest, when she gave freely of her greatest treasures to every nation within her reach, and entertained no thought of recompense or of selfish advantage.

Judge COHALAN. Mr. Chairman, I have the pleasure of presenting to the committee Hon Frank T. Walsh, who went over to the other side as the chairman of the American mission on Irish independence. He appeared before the Paris peace conference with his colleagues, Mr. Ryan, of Philadelphia, and Gov. Dunn, of Illinois, for the purpose of demanding the appearance there of the chosen representatives of Ireland, President De Valera, Arthur Griffith, and Count Plunkett. The committee may remember that he was with President Taft, the former joint chairman of the War Labor Board. I have great pleasure in presenting to you Hon. Frank P. Walsh.

STATEMENT OF HON. FRANK P. WALSH.

Mr. WALSH. Mr. Chairman and gentlemen of the committee, to my mind the issue that is before the Senate and to which I have the privilege of addressing myself this morning, transcends in importance any issue that has ever been presented to us in our history of nationhood. I do not except from that the great issues that brought on the conflict between our own people, the question of nullification, the question of black slavery, and the question of the

right of secession, because I see in what is going on here a situation of menace to us as a Nation—not as a power, but integral as a Nation—such as we have never been confronted with before.

It was conceivable to the minds of the men who wrote our Constitution that a situation might arise whereby a dictatorship might be asserted in this country by some person who had secured the favor of the people through the processes laid down in the Constitution of the United States. It was conceivable to them that men might be weakened by flattery, that they might be carried away by power and that, perhaps, especially in dealing with other nations of different beliefs and different concepts, they might wander away from the principles laid down in the Constitution of the United States. And so I am profoundly thankful, and I say that on behalf of those whom I represent, that this Senate Committee has given us a hearing to-day. I am distressed to observe that there is not a fuller attendance of Senators, and yet I feel that I should go on with what I have to say notwithstanding, in the hope that as my mind was brought to where I am to-day, perhaps the minds of some of my fellow Democrats may be so brought, and that we may be preserved from the calamity which I believe is about to overtake us, if it be not checked by the Senate. Our forefathers, with that in mind, provided specifically against one-man power in the dealing with other nations. They provided that the President of the United States had authority to make treaties only with the advice and consent of the Senate, and then only when two-thirds of those present concurred in the treaty. It is our hold, our democratic hold, on the Constitution of the United States that I believe is going to save us and save more than one-half of the world from being plunged into wars such as have not been comparable in our history before, and which will occur under any such proposition. We have now more than one-half of the world in open rebellion against the other half asserting repressive power, among which would be under the present league of nations the Congress of the United States. So the people of the world have been looking to this constitution, understanding its strength and elasticity, and looking to the Senate to save them from what they think will be the most calamitous event in the history of the world.

Might I, without being thought to put a personal angle on what I have to say, describe as briefly as I may how I am brought to this conclusion, which I urge upon you. Although I am but one humble citizen of this country, in appearing before you gentlemen to plead the cause I do, I do so with a feeling of solemnity which I have never before felt in any presence in my life. Perhaps what I say about myself may in a small way reflect an angle on the public mind, and it might give your committee perhaps some sort of idea if I can make myself plain, of what goes to make up the composite mind. Prior to our entry into this war I might have been described as a pacifist. I know that this finally in its last analysis will not be a political question. I know that when this matter is settled it is going to be settled by honorable men from motives of the loftiest patriotism. Our reactions may first be excused, primarily and initially, for running along party lines, because we are a party government, but in great questions, we stand together. That is evidenced by the support that the gentlemen in whose presence I have

the honor to speak gave the President of the United States, a member of my party, during the dark days when he needed support in the bitter conflict which cost us so many precious lives and billions of dollars of our treasure. I say this because I have always been a Democrat, and I like to call myself an independent Democrat, and I have supported every Democratic President since I reached my majority. Prior to our entry into this war I was a believer in peace to the point of being called a pacifist.

I believe I did think that I was a pacifist, but when brought face to face with these questions I found, as we all found, that there are so many things that we would fight for, there are so many things that if physically brave enough we would die for, that the pacifist so-called in this country was a negligible quantity. But I did have that point of view to an extent that I was led to make something like 78 speeches on the theme which the President of the United States gave to us, that he kept us out of war, and I want to say to you that throughout this land there was a great response to that thought. On account of certain connections I have had in an official way—I suppose for that reason—I was sent through the great Hocking Valley of Ohio and Pennsylvania, the coal valley, and practically with unanimity the people in that section responded to the thought that we were traditionally opposed to war, that we were historically opposed to entangling ourselves with any European embroilment and entanglements. But our country saw fit through the regular processes to declare war, and I say that I speak the composite mind of the people who despise war in this country when I say that they sprang to the support of the Government because under the written Constitution laid down by our forefathers they agreed in honor to do so. They knew, the intelligent ones of them, that when war was declared by this country the President of the United States became the most powerful potentate upon the face of the earth. They knew or thought they knew that he needed less legislation in the freest country in the world to perform what was at his hand, namely, to provide the means and opportunity for winning this war, than did any man on the face of the earth, including the late Emperor of Germany; and we did it purposely, gentlemen of the committee—I believe our forefathers did—because it was thought at that time that a democracy, a government founded upon Republican principles, could not stand against an autocracy where one man had autocratic power, so it was provided, and wisely provided, that along the paths of peace we should proceed as a democracy, but that when war was declared we wanted all of the power, all of the drive, all of the concentration that the most powerful potentate on the face of the earth might have at that time.

So that we went into it without question. I believe that nothing that was done by any man in this war was a sacrifice. I stood among the 2,200 graves of those American citizens at the edge of Belleau Wood, with practically every name on every cross showing the boy or the man was of Irish or German origin, because there were many German names on those crosses, and I knew that even they, fighting in this spirit as they did, would not say, if their voiceless lips could speak, that they had made any sacrifice. They did it willingly, cheerfully, for the confederation of human beings that got together more than 150 years ago to declare that this was one

Government that would never foster tyranny; that it was one Government that would always remain the refuge of the principles of right, and that when it was threatened or that when its representatives thought it was threatened, their answer could be but one thing, to give up all they had, even life, for this Government.

I had the privilege to serve my Government for about a year, or over a year, in a capacity that brought me quite in touch with what might be called the masses of the people of this country. Considering industrial disputes involving something over 3,000,000 people, I saw that that same spirit existed among the working people, what we are pleased to call the masses, the common people of this country, and that that same intelligent thought, even though perhaps they could not define a section of the Constitution, actuated them, that same spirit and genius, so that they were just like the soldier who went abroad. Therefore, when we threw the weight of our great resources and our man power into the conflict, we obtained the results we did. I used the words "man power" as I do, although I despise the words, because I know that man power is talked about by the Governments of Europe as meaning only the skull and the brains of such as my boy who sits yonder. It means the disemboweling of the human beings; it means throwing men and women to their death by the words usually of one or two men. But that was the name they gave to it, and so I use it. We threw into the conflict the man power of this country and the matchless resources that won this war. I say that, gentlemen of the committee, not because strategically our soldiers made a fight that kept the enemy from Paris, not because with a dash that at least was as great as that of the most seasoned soldiers, they won a battle at certain points and turned the tide. I do not mean that, but I mean that when we threw in our mighty resources that war was won. We have enough gained to pay off the war in one year's productivity. We have enough now, according to Government figures, to pay the whole cost of the war in the increased value of our productivity since 1914; so that if a country marches on its stomach and wins by the last pound of wheat or the last pound of meat, when we went in, we won this war.

In addition to being opposed to war—and I want to say that my opposition was strengthened by walking through those devastated fields in France—I want to add one other thought. No man could see the bleaching bones of his own kindred, no man could look at those rough brogans still with the flesh and blood in them of the living men who walked in them a few months ago, and not despise war with all his heart. I was a believer likewise in a league of nations. I profoundly believed in a league of nations. I took my conception of a league of nations from what our great President has said, and I want to say at this moment again, according him very great respect for his great ability and for the work that he has done for this country up until this time, that the best friend that he has in the United States is the man who will stand up and preserve him from the wreck of the great mistake that he seems about to make after coming from Paris.

I followed his concept, and I was and am in favor of that much-talked-of thing, a league of nations, a league of nations that will let every nation upon the earth take part in it, to begin with

national disarmament, the absolute freedom of the seas, and the much-talked-of open covenants openly arrived at, and the abolition of secret treaties. It was not an ideal thing. I say that it was the whole basis of any league of nations that would prove effective. It was the parting of the ways between secret diplomacy, and open covenants that a free people could understand and act upon intelligently, as I know you are trying to act upon this question to-day. I believed that such a league of nations was possible, and I so abhorred war that I gave what strength I had to the formation of such a league. Having been a humble member of the League to Enforce Peace, after the armistice was signed I accepted a position upon the executive committee of that body, and took part in the nation-wide tour for a league of nations.

Senator BORAH. Did you travel with Mr. Taft for a while?

Mr. WALSH. I did. I traveled as far as Chicago with him. From there I went to St. Louis and he went in another direction, and I will say that I was in accord with Mr. Taft and Dr. Lowell and others who spoke with him upon this general proposition, and I believe at heart if I understand them I am in accord with them to-day; and perhaps if I can get to it as I hurry through I may show the point of departure, and hope that the rest of them will depart at the same point. [Applause.]

It was thrown in my way to go to Paris. I might say here, although it is nothing to be proud of or to be ashamed of, that I have not given as much attention to the so-called Irish question that formerly existed as some of these gentlemen have who appear with me here to-day. I was not a member of any society that had for its object help to Ireland, but I was called into this by the gentlemen who organized the Irish race convention. My ancestry was Irish, every bit of it. This appeals to me as an American proposition. It occurred to me that if the case of Ireland so splendidly described by the President of the United States could be given to the world, if it could be understood that that was what we fought for, the greatest advance could be made by our country, and the greatest evidence could be given of our entire good faith in this enormous and awesome enterprise upon which we had entered, so that I went in as the representative and as the chairman of the committee of the American Commission on Irish Independence from the Irish race convention. We have here, gentlemen of the committee, and have given you a copy of, all the correspondence that we had with all persons while in Paris. We have given you a splendid copy of the report on conditions in Ireland. We have addressed a letter to your honorable chairman, a copy of which is on the first page of the brown-covered pamphlet in which we have embodied this correspondence. In addition to that we had interviews with every member of the American Commission to Negotiate Peace. Some of them we believe to be very significant, and we wanted to give the full text of those interviews in an executive session of this committee, because I believed there were matters in it that ought not to be made public, that would be embarrassing to some gentlemen if they were made public, but we will offer them to an executive meeting of this committee or to the Senate of the United States, if called upon.

Senator MOSES. Mr. Chairman, I move that these communications be received and printed as a confidential committee document.

The CHAIRMAN. If there be no objection it will be so ordered.

Mr. WALSH. We were sent to Paris and we went there with the commission of these 5,132 men and women, with this idea.

Senator JOHNSON of California. Just a moment, Mr. Walsh.

The CHAIRMAN. The Senator from California.

Senator JOHNSON of California. I want to suggest to you, Mr. Chairman, that the hearings of this committee have all been open. We have endeavored to make a departure from the rules that have prevailed heretofore, and to act in the open; to observe one of the 14 points, that of open covenants of peace openly arrived at.

I think these communications, if printed, ought to be open to the public as well as to the United States Senate. (Applause.) I want to amend the motion made by the Senator from New Hampshire (Mr. Moses) or to substitute for it the motion that the communications be received, be accepted, and be printed as a part of our record of the proceedings.

Senator MOSES. I accept that substitute, Mr. Chairman.

The CHAIRMAN. The question is on the substitute.

Senator BORAH. What are these communications?

Mr. WALSH. The communications are the interviews which we had with the members of the American Commission to Negotiate Peace, including the President.

Senator FALL. Mr. Chairman, this commission waited upon the President of the United States and there declined to receive from him any confidential information which they could not impart to the people of the United States. If the committee could not conscientiously receive information of that character from the President of the United States—and I was one who would not have attended the conference had it not been open, I must decline—and I had intended to so state later—to keep anything confidential from the people of the United States which it is their business to know.

Senator SWANSON. Mr. Chairman, I submit that this matter ought to come later, because it was understood that we would have nothing but hearings this morning.

Senator FALL. This is a part of the hearing, Mr. Chairman.

The CHAIRMAN. The question is on the motion for the printing of these documents.

Senator FALL. That will leave them at liberty to present them under those conditions, if they desire to do so.

The CHAIRMAN. If they are submitted, I think they ought to be published as a part of the record.

Senator FALL. I simply wanted to serve notice that I would not regard the information as confidential if it was submitted.

Senator KNOX. Put the question.

The CHAIRMAN. The question is, shall these documents referred to by Mr. Walsh be printed as a part of the record, as submitted by him.

(The question was taken and the motion was agreed to.)

(Other documents referred to are here printed in full, as follows:)

CORRESPONDENCE IN CASE OF IRELAND'S CLAIM FOR INDEPENDENCE BETWEEN
AMERICAN COMMISSION ON IRISH INDEPENDENCE—AMERICAN COMMISSION TO
NEGOTIATE PEACE AND REPRESENTATIVES OF OTHER GOVERNMENTS.

AMERICAN COMMISSION ON IRISH INDEPENDENCE,
OFFICE OF CHAIRMAN,
2142 Woolworth Building, August 26, 1919.

MR. HENRY CABOT LODGE,
Chairman Committee on Foreign Relations, United States Senate,
Washington, D. C.

DEAR SIR: We beg to hand you herewith, for consideration of your honorable committee, copies of all correspondence between the American Commission on Irish Independence, the American Commission to negotiate Peace, and the representatives of other Governments, at Paris, between the dates of April 16, 1919, and June 27, 1919, inclusive.

We likewise beg leave to inform your honorable body that, in addition to this correspondence, we had personal interviews with all of the members of the American Commission to Negotiate Peace.

Immediately at the close of such interviews, the substance of the same were dictated to stenographers, and full transcripts of the important ones preserved.

On account of the subject matter of certain of them, we do not consider it proper to offer the same at a public hearing. If your honorable body desires the information, however, we shall be glad to submit the full text of the interviews to you in executive session.

With assurances of our high respect and esteem, we are,

Sincerely,

AMERICAN COMMISSION ON IRISH INDEPENDENCE,
FRANK P. WALSH, *Chairman*,
MICHAEL J. RYAN,
EDWARD F. DUNNE.

AMERICAN COMMISSION ON IRISH INDEPENDENCE,
HOTEL GRAND,
Paris, France, April 16, 1919.

THE PRESIDENT OF THE UNITED STATES,
Paris.

DEAR MR. PRESIDENT: We beg to advise you that in pursuance of the commission given us by the Irish race convention held in the city of Philadelphia on February 22, 1919, we were, among other things, instructed to obtain, if possible, for the delegates selected by the people of Ireland, a hearing at the peace conference.

The delegates so selected are Messrs Eamon de Valera, Arthur Griffith, and Count Plunkett.

If these gentlemen were furnished safe conduct to Paris so that they might present their case, we feel that our mission would be, in the main if not entirely, accomplished.

May we therefore ask you to obtain from Mr. Lloyd George, or whomsoever may be intrusted with the specific details of such matters by the English Government, safe conduct for Messrs. de Valera, Griffith, and Plunkett from Dublin to Paris.

If you could see your way clear to do this, we feel sure that it would meet with the grateful appreciation of many millions of our fellow citizens, would certainly facilitate the object of our mission, and place us under additional great and lasting obligation to you.

It would afford us the utmost pleasure to call upon you in person in order that we might pay our respects as well as make a brief suggestion as to the

subject matter of this letter, provided such course meets with your approval and convenience.

With assurances of our continued high consideration and esteem, as always,
Sincerely, yours,

FRANK P. WALSH, *Chairman*,
MICHAEL J. RYAN,
EDWARD F. DUNNE.

THE PRESIDENT OF THE UNITED STATES OF AMERICA,
 GRAND HOTEL,
Paris, April 17, 1919.

MY DEAR MR. WALSH: The President asks me to say, in reply to your recent letter that he would be very glad to see you at his residence, 11 Place des Etats Unis, at 5.30 o'clock this afternoon, Thursday.

Sincerely, yours,

GILBERT F. CLOSE,
Confidential Secretary to the President.

Mr. FRANK P. WALSH,
Grand Hotel, Paris.

AMERICAN COMMISSION OF IRISH INDEPENDENCE,
 GRAND HOTEL,
Paris, May 17, 1919.

Hon. ROBERT LANSING,
Secretary of State and American Commissioner to Negotiate Peace.

SIR: On behalf of and representing the Irish race convention held in Philadelphia on February 22, 1919, we very respectfully request your good offices to procure from the British Government a safe conduct from Dublin to Paris and return for Eamon de Valera, Arthur Griffith, and George Noble Count Plunkett, the elected representatives of the people of Ireland, so that they may in person present the claims of Ireland for international recognition as a republic to the peace conference.

As you know, the British Government assented to our going to Ireland; we went there for the purpose of conferring with the representatives of the Irish people and ascertaining for ourselves at first hand the conditions prevailing in that country. We have returned therefrom and are now more desirous than ever that the authorized representatives of Ireland shall be given the opportunity to appear and present the case of that country to the representatives of the assembled nations.

Awaiting the favor of an early reply, we remain,

Very truly, yours,

FRANK P. WALSH, *Chairman.*
 EDWARD F. DUNNE.
 MICHAEL J. RYAN.

AMERICAN COMMISSION ON IRISH INDEPENDENCE,
 SUITE 760, GRAND HOTEL,
Paris, May 20, 1919.

DEAR MR. PRESIDENT: Following the interview courteously accorded by you to the chairman of our delegation on the 17th ultimo, Col. House made the following request of Mr. Lloyd-George:

"That safe conduct be given by the Government of Great Britain from Dublin to Paris and return for Eamon de Valera, Arthur Griffith, and George Noble Count Plunkett, the representatives selected by the people of Ireland to present its case to the peace conference."

Upon the day following Col. House conveyed the information to us that Mr. Lloyd-George was willing to comply with such request, but desired an interview with the American delegates before doing so, and that it was the desire of Mr. Lloyd-George that arrangements for the meeting with him be made through Mr. Philip Kerr, private secretary to Mr. Lloyd-George.

After two tentative dates had been set by Mr. Kerr for the meeting with Mr. Lloyd-George, and not yet having met him, we were advised by Col. House to repeat our original request in writing to the honorable Secretary of State, Mr. Robert Lansing, which we did upon the 17th instant.

At this moment we have been informed by the private secretary of Mr. Secretary Lansing that our request has been referred to you.

May we not therefore respectfully ask of you that the undersigned, our full delegation, be given an opportunity to present to you in person in as brief manner as consistent with the importance of the case suggestions which Messrs. de Valera, Griffith, and Plunkett, the representatives aforesaid, have asked us to convey to you, together with certain facts of grave import now in our possession.

May we also take the liberty of suggesting, in view of existing conditions in Ireland (which can not and will not be denied), that to foreclose its case by refusing a hearing to its representatives at this time would be disconsonant with the declared purpose for which the war was prosecuted and out of harmony with the common principles of democracy.

We would gratefully appreciate a response at your convenience, and with assurances of our continued high regard.

Sincerely,

FRANK P. WALSH, *Chairman.*
EDWARD F. DUNNE.
MICHAEL J. RYAN.

To the PRESIDENT OF THE UNITED STATES,
Paris.

AMERICAN COMMISSION TO NEGOTIATE PEACE,
Paris, 21 May, 1919.

MY DEAR MR. WALSH: The President asks me to acknowledge the receipt of the letter of May 20 signed by yourself, Gov. Dunne, and Mr. Ryan and to say that he has taken the matter up with the Secretary of State, and that by the President's direction, Mr. Lansing will reply to it.

Sincerely, yours,

GILBERT F. CLOSE,
Confidential Secretary to the President.

Hon. FRANK P. WALSH,
Suite 760, Grand Hotel, Paris.

AMERICAN COMMISSION ON IRISH INDEPENDENCE,
Grand Hotel, Paris, May 22, 1919.

The original of the following letter was to-day handed to M. Clemenceau's secretary at the foreign office, Quai d'Orsay, Paris, by Sean T. O'Ceallaigh, envoy of the Irish republican government at Paris, and copies were handed personally by Mr. Frank P. Walsh, chairman of the American Commission on Irish Independence, to President Wilson, Col. House, Secretary of State Lansing, Mr. White, and Gen. Bliss, the members of the American Commission to Negotiate Peace:

"MANSION HOUSE, *Dublin, May 17, 1919.*

"To M. CLEMENCEAU,

"President of the Peace Conference of Paris.

"SIR: The treaties now under discussion by the conference of Paris will, presumably, be signed by the British plenipotentiaries claiming to act on behalf of Ireland as well as of Great Britain.

"Therefore we must ask you to call the immediate attention of the peace conference to the warning which it is our duty to communicate, that the people of Ireland, through all its organic means of declaration, has repudiated and does now repudiate the claim of the British Government to speak or act on behalf of Ireland, and consequently that no treaty or agreement entered into by the representatives of the British Government in virtue of that claim is or can be binding on the people of Ireland.

"The Irish people will scrupulously observe any treaty obligation to which they are legitimately committed; but the British delegates can not commit Ireland. The only signatures by which the Irish nation will be bound are those of its own delegates deliberately chosen.

"We request you to notify the peace conference that we the undersigned have been appointed and authorized by the duly elected national government of Ireland to act on behalf of Ireland in the proceedings of the conference and to enter into agreements and sign treaties on behalf of Ireland.

"Accept, sir, the assurance of our high esteem,

"EAMON DE VALERA,
"ARTHUR GRIFFITH,
"COUNT GEORGE NOBLE PLUNKETT."

AMERICAN COMMISSION ON IRISH INDEPENDENCE,
Grand Hotel, Paris, May 22, 1919.

DEAR MR. PRESIDENT: The following communication has this day been transmitted to M. Clemenceau, president of the peace conference:

"MANSION HOUSE, *Dublin, May 17, 1919.*

"To M. CLEMENCEAU,

"*President of the Peace Conference of Paris.*

"SIR: The treaties now under discussion by the conference of Paris will, presumably, be signed by the British plenipotentiaries claiming to act on behalf of Ireland as well as of Great Britain.

"Therefore we must ask you to call the immediate attention of the peace conference to the warning which it is our duty to communicate, that the people of Ireland, through all its organic means of declaration, has repudiated and does now repudiate the claim of the British Government to speak or act on behalf of Ireland, and consequently that no treaty or agreement entered into by the representatives of the British Government in virtue of that claim is or can be binding on the people of Ireland.

"The Irish people will scrupulously observe any treaty obligation to which they are legitimately committed; but the British delegates can not commit Ireland. The only signatures by which the Irish Nation will be bound are those of its own delegates deliberately chosen.

"We request you to notify the peace conference that we the undersigned have been appointed and authorized by the duly elected national government of Ireland to act on behalf of Ireland in the proceedings of the conference and to enter into agreements and sign treaties on behalf of Ireland.

"Accept, sir, the assurance of our high esteem.

"(Signed) EAMON DE VALERA,
 "(Signed) ARTHUR GRIFFITH,
 "(Signed) COUNT GEORGE NOBLE PLUNKETT."

At the suggestion of President de Valera, we desire to call the same to your attention. We trust that the justice of the demand from the standpoint of democracy as well as of fundamental human rights, may lead you to throw the weight of your influence in its favor.

Sincerely,

FRANK P. WALSH, *Chairman,*
 EDWARD T. DUNN,
 MICHAEL J. RYAN.

To the PRESIDENT OF THE UNITED STATES.

COMMISSIONER PLENIPOTENTIARY OF THE
 UNITED STATES OF AMERICA,
Paris, May 22, 1919.

DEAR MR. WALSH: I have duly received the letter dated the 22d which you have been so good as to write me.

Yours, sincerely,

(Signed) HENRY WHITE.

Hon. FRANK P. WALSH,
Grand Hotel, Paris.

AMERICAN COMMISSION TO NEGOTIATE PEACE,
Hotel de Crillon, Paris, May 24, 1919.

SIR: I have received the letter which you and Messrs. Dunne and Ryan addressed to me on May 16th regarding the issuing of safe-conducts by the British Government to Eamon de Valera, Arthur Griffith, and George Noble Count Plunkett, in order that they may proceed from Ireland to France and return, and I immediately took steps to acquaint myself with the facts of the case, which transpired before the matter was brought to my attention by your above-mentioned letter.

I am informed that when the question of approaching the British authorities with a view to procuring the safe-conducts in question was first considered every effort was made, in an informal way, to bring you into friendly touch with the British representatives here, although owing to the nature of the case it was not possible to treat the matter officially. The British authorities having consented that you and your colleagues should visit England and Ireland,

although your passports were only good for France, every facility was given to you to make the journey. Before your return to Paris, however, reports were received of certain utterances made by you and your colleagues during your visit to Ireland. These utterances, whatever they may have been, gave, as I am informed, the deepest offense to those persons with whom you were seeking to deal, and consequently it seemed useless to make any further effort in connection with the request which you desired to make. In view of the situation thus created, I regret to inform you that the American representatives feel that any further efforts on their part connected with this matter would be futile and therefore unwise.

I am, sir,

Your obedient servant,

ROBERT LANSING.

HON. FRANK P. WALSH,
Grand Hotel, Paris.

NOTE.—This letter was received subsequent to the dispatch of our letter of May 26, 1919.

AMERICAN COMMISSION ON IRISH INDEPENDENCE,
Grand Hotel, Paris, May 26, 1919.

HON. ROBERT LANSING,

Secretary of State and American Commissioner to Negotiate Peace, Paris.

SIR: Upon the 17th instant we had the honor to hand to your private secretary, for immediate transmission to you, a letter requesting your good offices to procure from the British Government safe conduct from Dublin to Paris and return for Hons. Eamon de Valera, Arthur Griffith, and Count George Noble Plunkett, representatives of the people of Ireland, copy of which letter we inclose to you herewith.

Upon the day following we were advised by the American press representatives that you had communicated to them the fact that you had referred the letter to the President of the United States. Later in the day this statement was confirmed by your secretary in an interview with our chairman.

With this information, upon the 20th instant we addressed a letter of the same purport to the President of the United States, and requesting a hearing by him. We also inclose copy of this letter to you herewith.

Upon the 21st instant we were advised by Mr. Gilbert F. Close, confidential secretary to the President, that at the President's direction you would make reply to such letter. We have not been advised of further action, if any, either by yourself or the President, upon our request.

In view of the urgency and importance of the matter, the arrangements which must necessarily be made by President de Valera and his associates as an outcome of your reply, as well as the further steps which we may be called upon to take in an endeavor to accomplish the objects of our mission, may we not ask that you be good enough to give us an answer to our request.

With assurances of our high regard, we are,

Sincerely,

AMERICAN COMMISSION ON IRISH INDEPENDENCE,
By FRANK P. WALSH, *Chairman.*

AMERICAN COMMISSION ON IRISH INDEPENDENCE,
Grand Hotel, Paris, May 27, 1919.

HON. ROBERT LANSING,

Secretary of State and American Commissioner to Negotiate Peace, Paris.

SIR: Your letter of the 24th instant conveying the refusal of the American Commission to Negotiate Peace to our request that they should use their good offices to secure the issuance of safe conducts by the British Government to Hons. Eamon de Valera, Arthur Griffith, and George Noble Count Plunkett, was duly received.

Your letter states that you have been informed that every effort was made, unofficially, to bring us into friendly touch with the British representatives in Paris. It is also stated in your letter that you have information to the effect that certain utterances of ours made during our visit to Ireland "gave the deepest offense to certain persons with whom you (we) were seeking to deal."

We beg to advise you that no person was authorized by us to make any effort to bring us into friendly touch with any British representatives, here or elsewhere.

We also beg to further advise you that at no time, in Paris, or elsewhere, have we sought to deal, privately or unofficially, with any persons relative to the purposes of our mission.

In order to make the record perfectly clear, we submit the following:

On March 27, 1919, a letter in form following was delivered in person by the undersigned to the Acting Secretary of State, in your absence, at your office in Washington:

"PARIS, March 27, 1919.

"Hon. FRANK L. POLK,

Acting Secretary of State, Washington, D. C.

"DEAR SIR: We respectfully request the issuance of passports to France to Frank P. Walsh, of New York, N. Y.; Michael J. Ryan, of Philadelphia, Pa.; and Edward F. Dunne, of Chicago, Ill., who have been appointed by the recent Irish race convention held in the city of Philadelphia, Pa., on February 22 and 23, 1919, and whose object in visiting France is to obtain for the delegates, selected by the people of Ireland a hearing at the peace conference, and to place before the conference, if that hearing be not given, the case of Ireland; her insistence upon her right of self-determination; and to international recognition of the republican form of government established by her people.

"Very respectfully,

"FRANK P. WALSH, *Chairman.*"

We were informed by Mr. Assistant Secretary Phillips that he was acting for you, in your absence, and that the request contained in the letter would receive careful consideration. After a lapse of two days Mr. Assistant Secretary Phillips informed Mr. Patrick Lee, our secretary, that the request contained in the letter had been granted, and that your office had ordered the passports issued, which was accordingly done.

Upon our arrival in Paris a communication was addressed to the President, signed by Messrs. Walsh, Dunne, and Ryan, the full commission, advising him that we were acting in pursuance of a commission given us by the Irish Race Convention held in Philadelphia on February 22, 1919, and that we were instructed by said convention to obtain, if possible, for the delegates selected by the people of Ireland a hearing at the peace conference, and containing the following specific request:

"May we, therefore, ask you to obtain from Mr. Lloyd-George, or whomsoever may be intrusted with the specific details of such matters by the English Government, safe conduct for Messrs. de Valera, Griffith, and Plunkett from Dublin to Paris."

Following an interview between the President and the chairman of our delegation, the matter was taken up with Col. E. M. House, and the identical request was made through him.

The implications of your letter that any person was acting unofficially, privately, or secretly, is therefore erroneous.

Attempted negotiations on behalf of Ireland in such fashion would not only be violative of our instructions but obnoxious to the principle, to which the steadfastly adhere with multitudes of our fellow citizens, that a just and permanent peace can only be secured through open conventions openly arrived at.

For the verity of the record, which we are anxious to maintain upon this important matter, will you be good enough to give us the names of the persons to whom we gave deep offense by our utterances in Ireland, and with whom you have been informed we "were seeking to deal," as well as the name or names of any person or persons who assumed to negotiate or promote any such secret or unofficial dealings upon our behalf?

We likewise deem it proper to call your attention at this time to the fact that we scrupulously refrained from any public utterances in England, and that our statements to the people of Ireland as to the objects of our mission were in strict conformity with the purposes stated to you in our written application for passports and cherished and advocated by American citizens since the foundation of the American Republic. We are confident that, if your information is correct to the effect that our utterances gave deep offense, such offense was not given to the Irish people or to their duly elected representatives, in whose presence the utterances were made.

Awaiting your further advices, we are, sir,

Respectfully and sincerely,

AMERICAN COMMISSION ON IRISH INDEPENDENCE,
By FRANK P. WALSH, *Chairman.*

NOTE.—This letter was never answered.

AMERICAN COMMISSION ON IRISH INDEPENDENCE,
Paris, May 27, 1919.

THE PRESIDENT OF THE UNITED STATES,
Paris.

DEAR MR. PRESIDENT: We inclose herewith copy of letter received last evening from Mr. Robert Lansing, Secretary of State, together with copy of reply thereto of even date. We submit this so that you may be fully advised pending one further effort to carry out the purposes of our mission.

With assurances of our high esteem and respect, we are,
 Sincerely, yours,

AMERICAN COMMISSION ON IRISH INDEPENDENCE,
 By FRANK P. WALSH, *Chairman.*

(Same letter sent to Messrs. White, Bliss, and House.)

COMMISSIONER PLENIPOTENTIARY OF THE UNITED STATES OF AMERICA,
Paris, May 28, 1919.

DEAR SIR: I am in receipt of your letter of the 27th instant and hasten to inform you, in reply, that I have neither made nor associated myself in any way with efforts to bring you and your colleagues into touch with the representatives of the British Government in Paris or elsewhere, nor had I, until within the last few days, any knowledge of those efforts.

You, yourselves, have not at any time approached me in the matter, nor was I aware, until quite recently, of the informal action to which you refer.

I may add that I was equally unaware, until a few days ago, of the communication which you addressed to the President upon your arrival in Paris from the United States.

I must, therefore, both personally and as a member of the American Commission to Negotiate Peace with Germany and Austria, decline all responsibility in connection with the outcome of your mission.

Yours, sincerely,

HENRY WHITE.

HON. FRANK P. WALSH,
Grand Hotel, Paris.

AMERICAN COMMISSION ON IRISH INDEPENDENCE,
Paris, May 28, 1919.

HON. HENRY WHITE,
Commissioner Plenipotentiary of the United States of America, Paris.

DEAR SIR: Please accept our thanks for your prompt and courteous response to our letter of the 27th instant, just received.

With assurance of our appreciation and respect,
 Sincerely,

AMERICAN COMMISSION ON IRISH INDEPENDENCE,
 By FRANK P. WALSH, *Chairman.*

AMERICAN COMMISSION ON IRISH INDEPENDENCE,
Paris, May 28, 1919.

TO THE PRESIDENT OF THE UNITED STATES,
Paris.

DEAR MR. PRESIDENT: We have the honor to transmit to you herewith a large number of cablegrams from different parts of the United States, insisting upon the securing of opportunity to present Ireland's case to the peace conference, and protesting against article 10 of the covenant of the league of nations. We trust that you will find time, even with your multiplicity of duties, to give the same careful consideration.

May we also take the opportunity to suggest that the fears of these petitioners as to the effect of article 10, if adopted, seem to have a very substantial basis of fact and reason. It occurs to us, as it doubtless has to them, that the following evil effects might flow from the inclusion of article 10 in its present form:

1. That nations and peoples claiming age-old territorial integrities of their own would, ipso facto, be forced under the authority of other nations or even kingdoms, without a hearing.

2. That peoples, the vast majority of whom are devoted to the principles of free governments such as our own, could be forced under the rule of monarchies or military autocracies.

3. That the signatories, including our country, would be bound, after the adoption of article 10, to prevent the giving of aid by outside advocates of liberty to oppressed nations, which practice has obtained among civilized peoples from time immemorial.

4. That the powerful signatories, including our country, might eventually be compelled to wage war, for the preservation of "territorial integrity," no matter how unjust and oppressive in any part of the world.

In view of the refusal to give the representatives of the Irish people a hearing in Paris, and without consulting with them upon this particular subject, may we not offer the suggestions following, which might apply to the case of Ireland and other nations under like disabilities and similarly situated:

First. Before final adoption of article 10 that a full and open hearing before the committee of four of the great powers at the peace conference be accorded to any nation or people, in order that they may present any questions of fact which they may desire to submit to prove their own territorial integrity, or to dispute the claim of any nation claiming territory to which it is not entitled, or is, at the time of the signing thereof, attempting to acquire or hold by force of arms.

Second. That in any event article 10 of the covenant of the league of nations should be amended so as to read:

"The members of the league undertake to respect and preserve as against external aggression the territorial integrity and existing political independence of all members of the league. In case of any such aggression or in case of any threat or danger of such aggression the council shall advise upon the means by which this obligation shall be fulfilled: *Provided, however,* That the territorial boundaries of no country at the signing of the covenant shall be deemed to include any other country or nation the boundaries of which are natural ones, or clearly defined, inhabited by a homogeneous people, a majority of whom by a vote of its electorate has determined the form of government under which they desire to live, and whose efforts to establish the same and function thereunder are at the time of the signing hereof prevented by an army of occupation or other form of forcible repression."

With assurances of our continued high regard, we remain,

Sincerely,

AMERICAN COMMISSION ON IRISH INDEPENDENCE,
By FRANK P. WALSH, *Chairman.*

(Copies of the above letter and cablegrams sent to Messrs. House, White, Bliss, and Lansing.)

AMERICAN COMMISSION TO NEGOTIATE PEACE,
Paris, May 28, 1919.

MY DEAR MR. WALSH: I am writing on behalf of the President to acknowledge receipt of your letter of May 17 inclosing a copy of your letter to the Secretary of State of May 27.

Sincerely, yours,

GILBERT F. CLOSE,
Confidential Secretary to the President.

Hon. FRANK P. WALSH,
Grand Hotel, Paris.

AMERICAN COMMISSION TO NEGOTIATE PEACE,
Paris, May 29, 1919.

DEAR MR. WALSH: Thank you for your note of May 27 inclosing for my information a copy of your recent correspondence with the Secretary of State regarding the issuance of safe conducts for Messrs. de Valera, Griffith, and Count Plunkett.

Cordially, yours,

E. M. HOUSE.

Mr. FRANK P. WALSH,
*Chairman, American Commission on Irish Independence,
Grand Hotel, Paris.*

AMERICAN COMMISSION ON IRISH INDEPENDENCE,
Paris, May 29, 1919.

DEAR SIR: As representatives of the Irish race convention held in the city of Philadelphia on February 22, 1919, we respectfully request an opportunity of appearing before the members of the American Commission to Negotiate Peace at as early a moment as may be convenient and meet with the pleasure of the commissioners plenipotentiary.

With assurances of our respect and high regard, we are,
 Sincerely,

FRANK P. WALSH,
 E. F. DUNNE.

Mr. J. C. GREW,
Secretary to the American Commission to Negotiate Peace, Paris.

AMERICAN COMMISSION ON IRISH INDEPENDENCE,
Paris, May 29, 1919.

DEAR MR. PRESIDENT: We inclose you herewith copy of letter this day addressed to the secretary of the American Commission to Negotiate Peace.

We were informed by Col. House that daily meetings of the commissioners plenipotentiary are held at the Hotel Crillon, and he was good enough to say that he would be glad to attend at any time an opportunity was given us for a hearing.

We called at the headquarters of the commission at their regular meeting hour this morning, but their meeting had adjourned. Mr. Secretary of State Lansing therefore suggested to us, through his private secretary, that we make this request through the secretary of the commission.

We wish you to be assured that we will occupy but a brief space of time, and indulge the hope that you may accord us this hearing at as early a moment as will meet with your pleasure and convenience, considering your other important duties.

With assurances of our great respect, we are,
 Sincerely,

FRANK P. WALSH.
 E. F. DUNNE.

The PRESIDENT OF THE UNITED STATES,
Paris.

(Letters of similar purport were sent to Messrs. Lansing, White, House, and Bliss.)

AMERICAN COMMISSION ON IRISH INDEPENDENCE,
Paris, May 31, 1919.

DEAR MR. PRESIDENT: We beg to advise you that, in pursuance of the commission given us by the Irish race convention held in the city of Philadelphia on February 22, 1919, and following our letter to you of April 16, 1919, every effort has been made to obtain a hearing for the delegates selected by the people of Ireland to represent them at the peace conference. Our information is that the government of Great Britain has definitely denied safe conducts to these representatives, and hence they can not appear before the peace conference or any committee thereof.

The resolutions and instructions under which we are acting provide that, if opportunity be not given the regularly chosen representatives of Ireland, we should ourselves present her case; her insistence upon her right of self-determination; and to international recognition of the republican form of government established by her people.

We therefore petition you to use your good offices to secure a hearing for us before the special committee of the four great powers, so that we may discharge the duty imposed upon us by our convention.

In order to avoid misunderstanding we desire to state, and would thank you to convey the information to the other members of your committee, that we do not hold, or claim to have, any commission or authority from the people of Ireland or their representatives; but desire solely and respectfully to present the resolutions of the American convention with a brief argument in support thereof.

May we also point out that while the convention which we represent was unofficial, and while we claim no official authority in the governmental sense, nevertheless, it was a convention composed of 5,132 delegates; democratically selected, representing every State in the American Union; and the individuals who composed it may fairly be said to have been men and women of all shades of political opinion, of all religious sects, and of practically every trade, profession, and avocation which go to make up our national life.

We think it is likewise fair to state that this convention acted for many millions of our fellow-citizens, who, in this representative way, respectfully urge you to give favorable response to the request of this petition.

We will deeply appreciate it if you will be good enough to give us an early reply to this letter, as the matter of our departure for home is pressing us.

With considerations of our continued great respect and esteem, we are,

Sincerely,

FRANK P. WALSH, *Chairman*,
E. F. DUNNE.

To the PRESIDENT OF THE UNITED STATES,
Paris.

AMERICAN COMMISSION TO NEGOTIATE PEACE,
Paris, May 31, 1919.

GENTLEMEN: I beg to acknowledge receipt of your letter of May 29, requesting, as representatives of the Irish race convention held in the city of Philadelphia on February 22, 1919, an opportunity of appearing before the members of the American Commission to Negotiate Peace at as early a moment as may be convenient and meet with the pleasure of the commissioners plenipotentiary.

The commission is led to believe that your object in requesting to be received is to ask its good offices to obtain a hearing before the peace conference of representatives of the so-called "Irish republic." On the basis of this understanding, I am instructed by the American commissioners to express to you their regrets that they are unable to comply with your request, for the reason that it is not within the province of the American delegation to request the peace conference to receive a delegation composed of citizens of a country other than our own, when that country is officially represented at the conference, in regard to a matter having no relation whatever to the making of peace with Germany and Austria.

With assurance of respect, I am, gentlemen, your obedient servant,

J. C. GREW, *Secretary General*.

Messrs. FRANK P. WALSH and E. F. DUNNE,
Grand Hotel, Paris.

AMERICAN COMMISSION TO NEGOTIATE PEACE,
Paris, May 31, 1919.

MY DEAR MR. WALSH: I am writing on behalf of the President to acknowledge receipt of your letter of May 28 with the inclosed telegrams and to say that I am bringing them to the President's attention.

Sincerely, yours,

GILBERT F. CLOSE,
Confidential Secretary to the President.

Mr. FRANK P. WALSH,
Grand Hotel, Paris.

AMERICAN COMMISSION ON IRISH INDEPENDENCE,
Paris, June 2, 1919.

MY DEAR MR. CLOSE: I am handing you herewith letter for delivery to the President, which is quite urgent as to time. Would appreciate it deeply if you would get it to his hand at the earliest opportunity.

Thanking you for all of your kindnesses, I am,
Sincerely,

FRANK P. WALSH.

Mr. GILBERT F. CLOSE,
Confidential Secretary to the President, Paris.

AMERICAN COMMISSION ON IRISH INDEPENDENCE.

Paris, June 2, 1919.

DEAR MR. PRESIDENT: Upon this morning Mr. J. C. Grew, secretary general to the American Commission to Negotiate Peace, handed Gov. Dunne and myself a letter, copy of which is inclosed to you herewith. He stated at the same time that you were willing to accord personal interviews to us.

I am deeply appreciative of the courtesy extended, and would be grateful if you will be good enough to indicate at as early a moment as possible, consistent with your great press of affairs, when I might see you.

Always, sincerely,

FRANK P. WALSH.

The PRESIDENT OF THE UNITED STATES,
Paris.

AMERICAN COMMISSION ON IRISH INDEPENDENCE,

Paris, June 2, 1919.

MY DEAR SIR: We beg to acknowledge receipt of your letter of May 31 answering ours of the 29th ultimo, handed to us by you in person this morning.

We desire to state that our object in requesting an opportunity of appearing before the American Commission to Negotiate Peace was not to ask its good offices to obtain a hearing before the peace conference of representatives of the Irish Republic, as you state in your letter the commission has been led to believe. In order to remove this misapprehension, we respectfully submit the following:

Our information is that the Government of Great Britain has definitely denied safe conducts to these representatives, and hence they can not appear before the peace conference or any committee thereof.

The resolutions and instructions of the Irish race convention, under which we are acting, provide that if opportunity be not given the regularly chosen representatives of Ireland, we should ourselves present her case; her insistence upon her right of self-determination; and to international recognition of the republican form of government established by her people.

We wish to advise the commission further that we do not hold, or claim to have, any commission or authority from the people of Ireland or their representatives; but desire in appearing before the commission solely and respectfully to present the resolution of the American convention with a brief argument in support thereof.

May we also point out that while we claim no official status in the governmental sense, nevertheless, we are the representatives of a convention composed of 5,132 delegates, democratically selected, representing every State in the American Union; and the individuals who composed it may fairly be said to have been men and women of all shades of political opinion, of all religious sects, and of practically every trade, profession, and avocation which go to make up our national life.

We think it likewise fair to state that this convention acted for many millions of our fellow citizens, who in this representative way respectfully urge the commission to grant us a full hearing.

We therefore renew our request, and trust that the commission may see its way clear to fix a time, at its pleasure and convenience, when we may appear before it.

Awaiting the favor of an early reply, and with assurances of our great respect, we are,

Sincerely,

FRANK P. WALSH, *Chairman.*
E. F. DUNNE.

Mr. J. C. GREW,
Secretary General American Commission to Negotiate Peace, Paris.

AMERICAN COMMISSION OF IRISH INDEPENDENCE,

Paris, June 6, 1919.

DEAR MR. PRESIDENT: We have the honor to hand you herewith report on conditions in Ireland with demand for investigation by the peace conference.

On account of the serious and critical situation exposed by the report, we

beg that you will be good enough to give this document your careful consideration, and also to present the same to the full peace conference or to the committee of the five great powers, whichever may be the proper course under the practice of the conference. With assurances of our great respect and esteem, we are,

Sincerely,

AMERICAN COMMISSION ON IRISH INDEPENDENCE,
FRANK P. WALSH, *Chairman*.
E. F. DUNNE.

The PRESIDENT OF THE UNITED STATES,
Paris.

AMERICAN COMMISSION ON IRISH INDEPENDENCE,
Paris, June 6, 1919.

SIR: Complying with your request of May 1, 1919, made through Sir William Wiseman and assented to by Messrs. Sean T. O'Ceallaigh and George Gavan Duffy, the representatives at Paris of the Irish republican government, that we visit every part of Ireland, and especially Belfast, to ascertain the actual conditions existing in that country.

We have the honor to inform you that we have, except where prevented by the use of military forces of the English army of occupation, visited the four Provinces of Ireland, including Belfast, as well as the other principal cities and towns.

We have prepared a report covering the facts, with certain recommendations.

In order that the Government of Great Britain may be informed, we herewith hand you copy of this report, which, in addition to the presentation of facts, contains a demand for an investigation under the authority of the peace conference.

We also wish to advise your Government that the original of this document has this day been handed to the President of the United States and that copies have been transmitted to the House of Representatives and the Senate of the United States through the Secretary of State.

Respectfully,

AMERICAN COMMISSION ON IRISH INDEPENDENCE,
FRANK P. WALSH, *Chairman*.
E. F. DUNNE.

HON. DAVID LLOYD-GEORGE,
Prime Minister of England, Paris.

AMERICAN COMMISSION ON IRISH INDEPENDENCE,
Paris, June 6, 1919.

SIR: We have the honor to hand you three copies of document entitled "Report on conditions in Ireland with demand for investigation by the peace conference," which we have this day transmitted to the President, with copy to Hon. David Lloyd-George, prime minister of England.

In view of the fact that the Senate of the United States is now considering the subject of a new treaty or treaties with the Government of Great Britain, and on account of the further fact that the House of Representatives has heretofore passed a resolution in favor of Ireland's right of self-determination, which has not been acted upon by the peace conference, unless in secret session, of which we have had no advices, we respectfully request that you kindly transmit one copy of this document to the Senate and one to the House of Representatives of the United States, in conformity with the customs and practices of the State Department. With assurances of our great respect and consideration, we are,

Respectfully,

AMERICAN COMMISSION ON IRISH INDEPENDENCE,
FRANK P. WALSH, *Chairman*.
E. F. DUNNE.

HON. ROBERT LANSING,
Secretary of State of the United States, Paris.

AMERICAN COMMISSION TO NEGOTIATE PEACE,
Paris, June 7, 1919.

MY DEAR MR. WALSH: I beg to acknowledge receipt of your letter of June 6, inclosing the memorandum concerning conditions in Ireland and to say that I have brought it to the President's personal attention.

Sincerely, yours,

GILBERT F. CLOSE,
Confidential Secretary to the President.

Mr. FRANK P. WALSH,
Grand Hotel, Paris.

AMERICAN COMMISSION ON IRISH INDEPENDENCE,
Paris, June 8, 1919.

DEAR MR. PRESIDENT: We inclose you herewith paragraph inadvertently omitted from our "Report on conditions in Ireland with demand for investigation by the peace conference," which we had the honor of sending you upon the 6th instant. The same should be inserted under the subtitle "The revolution," on page 13 of said report.

Respectfully,

AMERICAN COMMISSION ON IRISH INDEPENDENCE.
 FRANK P. WALSH, *Chairman.*
 E. F. DUNNE.

The PRESIDENT OF THE UNITED STATES, *Paris.*

(A similar letter and inclosure also was sent to David Lloyd George, British Prime Minister.)

AMERICAN COMMISSION ON IRISH INDEPENDENCE,
Paris, June 8, 1919.

DEAR SIR: We inclose to you herewith two corrected copies of our "Report on conditions in Ireland, with demand for investigation by the peace conference." Will you be good enough to have these substituted for the ones heretofore transmitted, or have the necessary corrections made?

Respectfully,

AMERICAN COMMISSION ON IRISH INDEPENDENCE.
 FRANK P. WALSH, *Chairman.*
 E. F. DUNNE.

HON. ROBERT LANSING,
Secretary of State, Paris

AMERICAN COMMISSION ON IRISH INDEPENDENCE,
Paris, June 8, 1919.

Right Hon. LORD BIRKENHEAD,
Lord Chancellor of England, House of Lords, London, England.

SIR: Upon the 22d ultimo, during the proceedings in the House of Lords on that date, as published in the London Times, you made a statement, in reply to a question of Viscount Midleton, as to the intentions of the prime minister with reference to giving publicity to the result of the findings of our investigation of conditions in Ireland.

We beg, therefore, to submit to you herewith for presentation to the House of Lords this report, together with copies of letters addressed to Hon. David Lloyd George, prime minister.

Respectfully,

AMERICAN COMMISSION ON IRISH INDEPENDENCE.
 FRANK P. WALSH, *Chairman.*
 E. F. DUNNE.

AMERICAN COMMISSION ON IRISH INDEPENDENCE,
Paris, June 8, 1919.

EDITOR LONDON TIMES,
London, England.

SIR: We have the honor to hand you herewith "Report on conditions in Ireland with demand for investigation by the peace conference," together with copies of letters addressed to the President of the United States, the American Secretary of State, and Hon. David Lloyd George, British prime minister, upon the same subject.

As you are doubtless aware, charges have been made that matters deeply affecting the peace of the world, such as the condition of Ireland, are habitually suppressed by English newspapers. In order that your paper may be thoroughly advised, and that there should be no misunderstanding upon the subject later, we take this opportunity to submit the inclosed documents.

Respectfully, yours,

AMERICAN COMMISSION ON IRISH INDEPENDENCE.
 FRANK P. WALSH, *Chairman.*
 E. F. DUNNE.

(Similar letters and inclosures were sent to all leading English journals.)

AMERICAN COMMISSION ON IRISH INDEPENDENCE,
Paris, June 8, 1919.

SIR: Upon the 14th ultimo, during the proceedings in the House of Commons on that date, as published in the London Times, you made an official statement as to the intentions of the prime minister with reference to giving publicity to the result of the findings of our investigation of conditions in Ireland.

We beg, therefore, to submit to you herewith, for transmission to the cabinet, this report, together with copies of letters addressed to His Majesty, King George V, and Hon. David Lloyd-George, prime minister.

Respectfully,

AMERICAN COMMISSION ON IRISH INDEPENDENCE.
 FRANK P. WALSH, *Chairman.*
 E. F. DUNNE.

Mr. BONAR LAW, *Leader of the House of Commons, London, England.*

AMERICAN COMMISSION ON IRISH INDEPENDENCE,
Paris, June 8, 1919.

His Majesty GEORGE V, *King of Great Britain, London, England.*

YOUR MAJESTY: We herewith transmit to you our "Report on conditions in Ireland with demand for investigation by the peace conference," together with copies of letters addressed to your prime minister, Mr. David Lloyd-George.

The original of this report has been delivered to the President of the United States for presentation to the peace conference, and copies have been forwarded to Hon. Robert Lansing, American Secretary of State, for transmission to the Congress of the United States.

Respectfully,

AMERICAN COMMISSION ON IRISH INDEPENDENCE.
 FRANK P. WALSH, *Chairman.*
 E. F. DUNNE.

AMERICAN COMMISSION ON IRISH INDEPENDENCE,
Paris, June 13, 1919.

AMERICAN COMMISSION TO NEGOTIATE PEACE,
Paris.

GENTLEMEN: Following Mr. Lansing's letter of the 24th ultimo, conveying to us the opinion of the American Commission to Negotiate Peace that further effort to secure the issuance of safe conducts by the British Government to Messrs. de Valera, Griffith, and Plunkett would be futile and unwise, we proceeded, as you have been individually informed, to ourselves secure a hearing before your full body upon the merits of the Irish case.

While making this effort we are informed that the United States Senate has passed a resolution requesting your honorable body to endeavor to secure a hearing for the same gentlemen before the peace conference in order that they might present the case of Ireland and expressing sympathy with the aspirations of the people of Ireland for a government of their own selection.

In this situation we feel that further effort upon our part should be suspended until the resolution is acted upon by your honorable body.

We most respectfully urge, both as American citizens and in our representative capacity, that early and favorable action be taken by your body upon the Senate resolution.

If your commission concludes to so act upon the Senate resolution, and a hearing is granted by the peace conference to the Irish representatives and international recognition is accorded to the republican government set up by the people of Ireland, there will be no necessity for further demand by us upon your valuable time.

Will you therefore be good enough to advise us of whatever action your honorable body may see fit to take at the earliest convenient moment?

With assurances of our appreciation for other courtesies, and indulging the hope of an early response to this communication, we are,

Very respectfully,

AMERICAN COMMISSION ON IRISH INDEPENDENCE.
FRANK P. WALSH, *Chairman*.
E. F. DUNNE.

AMERICAN COMMISSION ON IRISH INDEPENDENCE,
Paris, July 13, 1919.

Mr. J. C. GREW,

Secretary General American Commission to Negotiate Peace, Paris.

DEAR MR. SECRETARY GENERAL: We are taking the liberty of handing you herewith letter of even date addressed to the American commission to negotiate peace, which we request that kindly hand to them at once.

Sincerely,

AMERICAN COMMISSION ON IRISH INDEPENDENCE.
FRANK P. WALSH, *Chairman*.
E. F. DUNNE.

AMERICAN COMMISSION ON IRISH INDEPENDENCE,
Paris, July 13, 1919.

DEAR MR. PRESIDENT: We inclose you herewith copy of letter to-day addressed to the American commission to negotiate peace, the original of which was forwarded through Secretary General Grew, and to which we respectfully request your early and kindly consideration.

Sincerely,

AMERICAN COMMISSION ON IRISH INDEPENDENCE.
FRANK P. WALSH, *Chairman*.
E. F. DUNNE.

The PRESIDENT OF THE UNITED STATES, *Paris*.

(Similar letters were sent to Messrs. Lansing, Bliss, House, and White.)

AMERICAN COMMISSION TO NEGOTIATE PEACE,
Paris, June 14, 1919.

GENTLEMEN: I beg to acknowledge receipt of your letter of June 13, together with the inclosed copy of letter to the American Commission to Negotiate Peace, and to say that your letter will receive my careful consideration.

Sincerely, yours,

TASKER H. BLISS.

AMERICAN COMMISSION ON IRISH INDEPENDENCE, *Paris*.

AMERICAN COMMISSION ON IRISH INDEPENDENCE,
Paris, June 17, 1919.

AMERICAN COMMISSION TO NEGOTIATE PEACE, *Paris.*

GENTLEMEN: Inasmuch as the peace terms are so close to signature, will you not be good enough to advise us at the earliest possible moment as to the disposition by the full peace conference of the Senate resolution as follows:

"*Resolved*, That the Senate of the United States earnestly requests the American Peace Commission at Versailles to endeavor to secure for Edward de Valera, Arthur Griffith, and Count George Noble Plunkett, a hearing before said peace conference in order that they may present the cause of Ireland.

"*Resolved further*, That the Senate of the United States express its sympathy with the aspirations of the Irish people for a government of its own choice."

In addition to the fact that we are receiving constant and urgent inquiries in regard to the same, we wish to respectfully call to your attention that unless action is taken very shortly, the delay itself will amount to a denial of the request.

With assurances of our high regard and esteem,
 Sincerely,

FRANK P. WALSH, *Chairman.*
 E. F. DUNNE.

AMERICAN COMMISSION TO NEGOTIATE PEACE,
Paris, June 17, 1919.

Mr. FRANK P. WALSH,

Chairman American Commission of Irish Independence, Paris.

SIR: The American Commission to Negotiate Peace has the honor to acknowledge the receipt of your letter dated June 17 and previous correspondence regarding the resolution of the Senate of the United States in connection with the appearance of Edward de Valera, Arthur Griffith, and Count George Noble Plunkett before the peace conference and to inform you that the commission will not fail to comply with the request stated in your above-mentioned letter.

I am, sir,

Your obedient servant,

J. C. GREW, *Secretary General.*

AMERICAN COMMISSION ON IRISH INDEPENDENCE,
Paris, June 17, 1919.

DEAR MR. PRESIDENT: On the 6th day of June, 1919, we had the honor to forward you our "Report on conditions in Ireland with demand for investigation by peace conference," the investigation to be conducted by an impartial body appointed by the peace conference, and excluding from membership the interested countries; or a committee selected equally by the Prime Minister of England and the elected representatives of Ireland, the chairman to be agreed upon by parties, or, in case of failure to agree, by the Supreme Court of the United States.

We now beg leave to point out that in the report heretofore forwarded to you the most revolting acts committed against the people of Ireland were not included, for the reason that many of the details of evidence covering the same are in the exclusive possession of the chief secretary for Ireland, Mr. Ian MacPherson, and military and other officials under his authority.

The substantial accuracy of our report has been attested by some of the more progressive and independent newspapers of England; but in view of certain public statements by English officials and certain newspapers, we beg to make the following additions to our report:

(1) Since the submission thereof, through use of an army of spies and agents provocateurs, reprisals have begun against the persons and property of those who are to bear witness to the truth of many of the atrocities reported; and men and women are being arrested upon trumped-up charges and transported to places distant from their homes and friends, so as to be deprived of assistance or defense.

(2) The only charge in the report heretofore submitted to you which has, so far as we know, received specific denial at the hands of any English authority is the following:

"Police and soldiers are habitually permitted to enter the cells where political prisoners are confined and to beat them with their clubs."

We are ready to substantiate this charge before the commission of inquiry, (a) by the production of large numbers of witnesses who have been thus beaten; (b) by proof of witnesses of the highest standing, including American citizens, who examined the cells of the prisoners shortly after the beatings and found the fresh blood still covering the walls of the cells; (c) by the production of prisoners whose injuries did not prove fatal, but who have been maimed and disfigured for life by the beatings of the soldiers and police.

In view of the conditions in Ireland as herein and heretofore set forth, which we earnestly insist can not be ignored if the peace of the world is to be accomplished, as well as the fact that if prompt action is not taken many more innocent lives may be lost, and further brutalities committed, with the apparent sanction of other nations; that evidence now in existence may be destroyed, and witnesses placed beyond the reach of the commission of inquiry, we respectfully request that you will be good enough to at once place these additional facts before the peace conference and urge upon it the necessity and justice of prompt acquiescence in the demand for a hearing before an impartial tribunal such as heretofore described.

With considerations of our continued esteem and great respect,

Sincerely,

AMERICAN COMMISSION ON IRISH INDEPENDENCE,
FRANK P. WALSH, *Chairman*.
E. F. DUNNE.

The PRESIDENT OF THE UNITED STATES, *Paris*.

AMERICAN COMMISSION ON IRISH INDEPENDENCE,
Paris, June 17, 1919.

Col. E. M. HOUSE,

Member of American Commission to Negotiate Peace, Paris.

DEAR COL. HOUSE: We inclose you herewith copy of letter which we are to-day sending to the President, in reference to conditions existing in Ireland.

Sincerely,

AMERICAN COMMISSION ON IRISH INDEPENDENCE,
FRANK P. WALSH, *Chairman*.
E. F. DUNNE.

(Similar letters sent to Messrs. Bliss and White.)

AMERICAN COMMISSION ON IRISH INDEPENDENCE,
Paris, June 17, 1919.

Hon. ROBERT LANSING,

*Secretary of State and American
Commissioner to Negotiate Peace, Paris.*

DEAR SIR: We inclose you herewith copies of letter which we are to-day sending to the President, in reference to conditions existing in Ireland.

We respectfully request that you transmit one copy of this letter to the Senate and one to the House of Representatives of the United States, in conformity with the customs and practices of your department.

Sincerely,

AMERICAN COMMISSION ON IRISH INDEPENDENCE,
FRANK P. WALSH, *Chairman*.
E. F. DUNNE.

AMERICAN COMMISSION ON IRISH INDEPENDENCE,
Paris, June 18, 1919.

Right Honorable LORD BIRKENHEAD,

*Lord Chancellor of England,
House of Lords,
London, England.*

SIR: We hand you herewith copy of letter sent on the 17th instant to the President of the United States, containing additional atrocities being com-

mitted by the English Government in Ireland, so that you may be informed. Copies of this letter have also been sent to Mr. Lansing, Secretary of State, for transmission to the Congress of the United States.

Respectfully,

AMERICAN COMMISSION ON IRISH INDEPENDENCE,
FRANK P. WALSH, *Chairman*.
E. F. DUNNE.

Similar letters were also sent to Messrs. David Lloyd-George, Bonar Law, the London Times, the Daily Mail, the Daily Herald, Manchester Guardian, the Morning Post, and other widely-known English newspapers.

AMERICAN COMMISSION TO NEGOTIATE PEACE,
Paris, 18, 1919.

GENTLEMEN: Gen. Bliss has received your letter of 17 June, 1919, inclosing copy of letter of even date to the President in reference to conditions existing in Ireland, and has asked me to acknowledge its receipt, with his thanks.

Sincerely, yours,

W. B. WALLACE, *Colonel, General Staff.*

AMERICAN COMMISSION ON IRISH INDEPENDENCE,
Grand Hotel, Paris.

AMERICAN COMMISSION ON IRISH INDEPENDENCE,
Paris, June 19, 1919.

THE AMERICAN COMMISSION TO NEGOTIATE PEACE,
Paris.

GENTLEMEN: We inclose to you herewith copy of letter this day forwarded to Hon. David Lloyd-George, British prime minister, relating to the case of Countess Markievicz.

If your honorable commission can officially or individually aid in securing the release of this worthy woman, we beg to assure you that the ends of justice will be served thereby, and that it will be an act of humanity for which you will receive the kindly gratitude of many millions of people.

Respectfully,

AMERICAN COMMISSION ON IRISH INDEPENDENCE,
FRANK P. WALSH, *Chairman*.
E. F. DUNNE.

AMERICAN COMMISSION ON IRISH INDEPENDENCE,
Paris, June 19, 1919.

Hon. DAVID LLOYD-GEORGE,
British Prime Minister, Paris.

SIR: We desire to respectfully call your attention to the case of Countess Markievicz, and to enter our most solemn protest against the conduct of the British Government and its officials toward her.

On June 6, 1919, we had the honor to submit to you, for your official consideration and action as Prime Minister of Great Britain a report of certain atrocities and cruelties inflicted by the English army of occupation on the inhabitants of Ireland, with a demand for the appointment of a special committee of inquiry by the peace conference.

We have been advised that the Countess Markievicz, who is a member of the Irish parliament and minister of labor in the Irish republican cabinet, has been arrested and confined in jail upon an inconsequential charge; and that the punishment now being inflicted upon her is in the nature of a reprisal and in retaliation for giving information in regard to certain of the atrocities contained in our report.

We wish to point out that the Countess Markievicz is a woman of refinement, splendid intellectual gifts, courageous spirit, and of spotless character, and has a place deep in the affections of the people of Ireland as well as many millions in the United States.

During our interviews with the Countess Markievicz in Dublin a few weeks ago, we observed that while she is a woman of high spirit and strong will, her health is not robust, and we greatly fear that the harshness of jail life may result in her death.

Our reasons for making the charge that the cruelties now being inflicted upon the Countess Markievicz are in the nature of reprisals by the British Government are as follows:

(1) Much of the detailed evidence of atrocities committed against women prisoners in Ireland was furnished us by the Countess Markievicz.

(2) She has in her possession the evidence of certain unspeakable outrages, the details of which have not yet been published, but which we intend to submit to the commission of inquiry when selected by the peace conference.

(3) We have indubitable proof at hand that during the course of our investigation in Ireland the Countess Markievicz was shadowed by spies in the employ of the British Government, and direct threats were made against her during the progress of our inquiry.

(4) She was arrested on a frivolous charge after our report was sent to you, and while publication of it was absolutely forbidden in Ireland, where the facts were easily ascertainable, and during the time the same was being withheld from publication by the English press.

(5) The sentence imposed upon her is for a length of time which would keep her in jail during the inquiry that may be made by the peace conference.

(6) The alleged utterances for which she is now imprisoned were made a month or more before her arrest, and no action had been taken upon them, as we are informed, until after the receipt of our report on English atrocities by the chief secretary for Ireland, Mr. Ian MacPherson.

(7) That during our visit to Ireland we heard many public utterances of the same import as those for which the Countess Markievicz is in jail, delivered in and out of the Irish parliament, and upon which no action whatever was taken by the Government.

We sincerely hope that, animated by a decent regard for the opinion of mankind, which we know you cherish, and in view of the foregoing considerations, especially having in mind the danger to the life of the Countess Markievicz through continued suffering in jail, you will use your great powers and authority as prime minister of Great Britain to secure the immediate release of this worthy woman.

We have, moreover, reason to apprehend that arrests of other women who suffered atrocities on their own persons while in jail, or who were witnesses to them being practiced on others, are impending, and that it is the purpose of the English Government to imprison in Ireland or remove from that country men and women whose testimony may be indispensable to the proposed investigation.

We wish to assure you that we are not making this request at the instance of the Countess Markievicz, nor at the suggestion of the representatives of the republican government in Ireland, but on the grounds—

(a) Of our common humanity; and

(b) So that when the committee of inquiry is appointed those upon whom atrocities have been practiced, or who have witnessed the same, will not be dead, incarcerated in prison, or so broken in health as to be unable to attend the hearing.

Respectfully,

AMERICAN COMMISSION ON IRISH INDEPENDENCE,
FRANK P. WALSH, *Chairman*,
E. F. DUNNE.

AMERICAN COMMISSION ON IRISH INDEPENDENCE,
Paris, June 20, 1919.

AMERICAN COMMISSION TO NEGOTIATE PEACE,
Paris.

GENTLEMEN: We beg to advise you that the American Federation of Labor at its national annual session now being held at Atlantic City, N. J., by unanimous vote adopted a resolution urging the international recognition of the republican form of government now existing in Ireland and urging the peace conference to give a hearing to Eamon de Valera, Arthur Griffith, and Count George Noble Plunkett on the case of Ireland.

May we point out some of the reasons which we respectfully submit should move your honorable body to make every effort to have this resolution complied with:

(1) The American Federation of Labor has enrolled in its membership more than 3,000,000 men and women, with a sphere of legitimate influence embracing many millions more.

(2) The American Federation of Labor contributed a high percentage to the overseas army of the American Expeditionary Forces.

(3) The organization was the basis and strong bulwark of the division of industry behind the military forces of the United States, without which the war could not have been won.

(4) Mainly through the efforts of this great organization, its veteran leader, and other officials the productivity of our country during the great World War was maintained at the highest point, and not one day's delay was occasioned in the production of essential war materials by strikes or labor disputes.

(5) The American Federation of Labor, aside from its purely industrial activities, is, we believe, without exaggeration, the most powerful force existent in the world to-day for the maintenance of that democracy cherished and practiced by us, and for the universal establishment of which America entered the World War; and to which the world must look for safety amid the clash of conflicting governmental ideas, ranging from the reactionary ambitions of monarchies and autocracies to the extreme dangers of unrestraint and chaos.

We also take this occasion to point out that since we made our original request to your honorable body on behalf of the Irish race in America, urging you to endeavor to secure a hearing for the Irish case before the peace conference, the United States Senate, with practical unanimity, has made the same request; and we have transmitted to you from bodies representing vast numbers of American citizens of all shades of political belief, composing all groups which make up our national life, cablegrams to the same effect.

In view of the fact that the day is so close at hand upon which we all earnestly hope the terms of peace will be signed, with the greatest respect, but with all urgency, we would ask the favor of a reply to the following questions:

(a) Has the American Commission to Negotiate Peace or any individual member thereof made a request to the general peace conference for a hearing for Messrs. de Valera, Grith, and Plunkett?

(b) Has your honorable body, or any individual member thereof, made a request to the peace conference for the international recognition of the Irish republic?

(c) Has your honorable body, or any individual member thereof, made request of the peace conference for any person or persons to present the case of Ireland, and its right to self-determination, to the peace conference?

(d) If all or any such requests have been made, have the same been considered by the peace conference; and if so, has answer thereto been received from the peace conference or any official representative thereof?

(e) If such requests have not been made, will your honorable body be good enough, in view of the manifold petitions and appeals herein referred to, and in the cause of humanity and justice, make such requests, or any thereof which you may deem proper; and if so, promptly advise us as to the result or make the same public, so that all of your petitioners may be advised.

With considerations of our great respect and esteem, we are,

Sincerely,

AMERICAN COMMISSION ON IRISH INDEPENDENCE,
FRANK P. WALSH, *Chairman*.
E. F. DUNNE.

AMERICAN COMMISSION ON IRISH INDEPENDENCE,
Paris, June 20, 1919.

DEAR MR. PRESIDENT: We inclose herewith, for your information, copy of letter addressed to the American Commission to Negotiate Peace, which was this day delivered to Mr. J. C. Grew, secretary general.

Sincerely,

AMERICAN COMMISSION ON IRISH INDEPENDENCE,
FRANK P. WALSH, *Chairman*.
E. F. DUNNE.

The PRESIDENT OF THE UNITED STATES, *Paris*.

(Similar letters were sent to Messrs. Lansing, House, Bliss, and White.)

AMERICAN COMMISSION TO NEGOTIATE PEACE,
Paris, June 21, 1919.

MY DEAR SIR: I beg to acknowledge the receipt of your letter of June 17, which arrived during the President's absence in Brussels, and to say that I am bringing it to his personal attention.

Sincerely, yours,

GILBERT F. CLOSE.
Confidential Secretary to the President.

Mr. FRANK P. WALSH,
Grand Hotel, Paris.

AMERICAN COMMISSION TO NEGOTIATE PEACE,
Paris, June 21, 1919.

Mr. FRANK P. WALSH,
*American Commission for Irish Independence,
 Grand Hotel, Paris.*

SIR: I beg to acknowledge, on behalf of the American Commission to Negotiate Peace, the receipt of your letter of June 20, in which you advise the commission of a resolution adopted by the American Federation of Labor at its annual session now being held at Atlantic City and ask certain questions with regard to the recent Senate resolution.

In reply to your letter I beg to inform you that, in accordance with advice which has already been given you, a copy of the said Senate resolution was forwarded to the president of the peace conference, Mr. Clemenceau. Mr. Clemenceau, alone, is competent to bring this whole question to the attention of the conference. Beyond this, of course—as you very readily will appreciate—neither the American commission as a whole nor any of its individual members can take any further steps in the premises.

I am, sir,

Your obedient servant,

J. C. GREW, *Secretary General.*

[Copy of telegram.]

PARIS, *June 25, 1919.*

IAN MACPHERSON,
Chief Secretary for Ireland, Dublin Castle, Dublin, Ireland.

Proof has been submitted to us at Paris that you are using your official power as well as the forces of the English Army of Occupation in Ireland to suppress our full reply to your answer to our report on conditions in Ireland, which was made on the 21st instant. Your answer, published broadcast, made denials of certain portions of our report and serious personal accusations against us. We are also advised that through the same instrumentalities you are suppressing altogether or causing to be printed garbled accounts of statements and affidavits made by individuals and officials in Ireland supporting the report of our commission and challenging the accuracy of your answer. We most earnestly protest against this unfair procedure and arbitrary abuse of authority as repugnant to the modern conception of justice and fair play held by right thinking men and women, which we had hoped applied to the English officials in Ireland as well as to the rest of mankind.

AMERICAN COMMISSION ON IRISH INDEPENDENCE
 FRANK P. WALSH, *Chairman.*
 E. F. DUNNE.

NOTE.—This telegram was never answered.

AMERICAN COMMISSION ON IRISH INDEPENDENCE,
Paris, June 27, 1919.

M. GEORGES CLEMENCEAU,
President of the Peace Conference and Premier of France, Paris.

Monsieur le PRESIDENT: We have received formal notification from the secretary general of the American Commission to Negotiate Peace that the whole Irish question is now referable to you alone.

We therefore beg leave, as the representatives of the Irish race in America, to submit to you copies of the following documents, i. e.:

(a) The repudiation by the representatives of the Irish republic of the usurped right of England to enter into obligations or agreements affecting Ireland.

(b) Official report of the American commission on Irish independence on conditions in Ireland with demand for investigation by the peace conference.

Pending action by the full peace conference upon the request already submitted to you by Messrs. Sean T. O'Ceallaigh and George Gavan Duffy, the envoys of the Irish republic at Paris, for a full hearing before the peace conference, we desire to urge upon you the urgent necessity of the early creation of an impartial commission of inquiry to investigate and report upon the actual state of war now existing between the people of Ireland and the English Army of occupation, with especial reference to the atrocities and acts of barbarism still being perpetrated.

Since the filing of our original report with President Wilson and the American commission to negotiate peace, the following acts of savagery are being perpetrated by the English Army of occupation on the Irish people, which we submit are in violation of the rules of civilized warfare, and which, if permitted to continue, will render impossible the just pacification of the world for which its people are so earnestly striving:

(1) Lives are being taken, or men and women are being maimed and wounded daily.

(2) An organized effort to destroy the homes of the peoples of Ireland is being waged;

(3) Orders of banishment are issued frequently against people, commanding them to leave their homes at the risk of death and under penalty of imprisonment;

(4) Raids are being made upon peaceful towns and villages by aeroplanes;

(5) The homes and places of business of the inhabitants are being invaded and ransacked; looting is being carried on in a most shameful manner;

(6) Property of great value is being confiscated, for which reparation will be impossible, unless opportunity is quickly given to prove and inventory the losses;

(7) Barricades and emplacements for artillery and machine guns are being erected, which menace the lives and property of the people;

(8) The meeting places of the workers of Ireland are surrounded by machine guns, so that the workers are in imminent peril of death while endeavoring to carry on the lawful and ordinary activities of their organizations;

(9) Reprisals of a cruel and unusual character are being practiced in retaliation for the efforts to present the case of Ireland to the peace conference;

(10) Delicate and aged men and women are being confined in noisome and insanitary jails solely on account of their political opinions.

As the president of the peace conference, to which the peoples of the world are looking for the establishment of peace, and the adoption of instrumentalities which will put an end to existing wars and prevent future conflicts, we most earnestly urge upon you the immediate presentation of the accompanying documents to your honorable body, and the great necessity for early action thereon.

With considerations of our high esteem and respect, we are,

Respectfully,

AMERICAN COMMISSION ON IRISH INDEPENDENCE.
FRANK P. WALSH, *Chairman*.
E. F. DUNNE.

[Personal and urgent.]

AMERICAN COMMISSION ON IRISH INDEPENDENCE.

Paris, July 22, 1919.

M. GEORGES CLEMENCEAU,

President of the Peace Conference and Premier of France, Paris.

Monsieur le PRESIDENT: We are in receipt of information from sources of high authorities that, as president of the peace conference, you have notified American peace plenipotentiaries that, so far as further consideration of the Irish question is concerned, the matter is one in which you will take no action.

We understand this decision covers:

1. That the resolution of the American Senate, officially forwarded to you by the American Commission to Negotiate Peace, and the recommendations contained therein expressing sympathetic support to the people of Ireland in their efforts to obtain a government of their own choice, is, by this action, denied in a manner suggestive of your entire disregard of American public opinion as rendered in the deliberate resolution of our highest legislative body.

2. That the peace conference further ignores the request of the Hon. Messrs. Walsh and Dunne for the appointment of an international tribunal to investigate into the charges of barbarities and inhuman conduct, in violation of the rules of civilized warfare, perpetrated by the British Government through its military forces in occupation of Ireland, and upon its defenseless people.

The knowledge of your decision in these matters, has been up to now withheld from the American public. The results of the publication of this information will doubtless have very material weight at this time while the attention of the United States Senate is occupied in matters of international importance, in which, we feel France has a material interest. Arrangements have already been made for giving widespread publicity in America to this decision on your part. But before taking this step, we respectfully suggest that an audience may be granted by you to the undersigned to present the importance of the situation, particularly in this relation to the future interests of France, of America, and of Great Britain.

There are 20,000,000 citizens of Irish blood in the United States, and the effect of this information, when published there, needs no characterization by us to indicate how grave may be the danger to the continuance of those same relations of amity and esteem that have marked the friendships existing between the French, American, and Irish peoples.

Trusting that I may be accorded the honor of this audience with you at your earliest possible convenience, and, with assurances of high esteem and respect, we have the honor to remain,

Sincerely, yours,

AMERICAN COMMISSION ON IRISH INDEPENDENCE,
JOHN ARCHDEACON MURPHY,
Commissioner in Charge.

REPORT ON CONDITIONS IN IRELAND WITH DEMAND FOR INVESTIGATION BY THE PEACE CONFERENCE.

The Irish race convention held in Philadelphia on the 22d and 23d of February, 1919, provided by resolution for the appointment of a committee of 25 by the chairman, and instructed it to use all honorable means to secure for Ireland her right of self-determination.

This general committee selected from its own body Frank P. Walsh, of New York, former Gov. Edward F. Dunne, of Illinois; and Michael J. Ryan, of Philadelphia, as a special commission to go to Paris. The instructions of this special committee were as follows:

"To obtain for the delegates selected by the people of Ireland a hearing at the peace conference, and to place before the conference, if that hearing be not given, the case of Ireland; her insistence upon her right of self-determination; and to international recognition of the republican form of government established by her people."

Upon their arrival at Paris a letter signed by all the commissioners was addressed to President Wilson asking him to obtain from the British Government safe conducts for Eamon de Valera, Arthur Griffith, and Count George Noble Plunkett, the representatives selected by the people of Ireland, from Dublin to Paris and return; and also asking him to accord an interview to the American commission.

In response to this letter the President wrote to Mr. Walsh, chairman of the commission, granting him an interview, and fixing the time.

The President gave an exhaustive hearing to the case as presented by Mr. Walsh, and referred him to Col. E. M. House with instructions to say that he believed the request a proper one, and that it should be granted.

The entire commission waited upon Col. House, advised him of the suggestion of the President, and presented the request in writing for safe conducts for Messrs. De Valera, Griffith, and Plunkett. Col. House promised to take the matter up with Mr. Lloyd-George immediately and to use every effort to have the safe conducts granted.

Upon the following day Col. House announced to the commission, who again called upon him in a body, that he had communicated with the prime minister of England, and that in all likelihood the safe conducts would be granted; but that Mr. Lloyd-George was very desirous of having an interview with the American commissioners personally and would be glad to have Chairman Walsh take up the matter of fixing the time and place for the meeting with Mr. Lloyd-George's confidential secretary, Mr. Philip Kerr.

The commission notified Col. House at once that they did not seek a conference with Mr. Lloyd-George; doubted very much the wisdom or propriety of meeting him, but finally agreed to do so as a matter of courtesy.

Later in the day the entire commission called upon Col. House and stated that, under no circumstances did they wish to be relegated to Mr. Lloyd-George on the question of the issuance of the safe conducts, but were relying upon him, Col. House, as one of the American commissioners, to secure compliance with the request, if possible. With this clear understanding they would meet the Prime Minister.

Mr. Lloyd-George, on the plea of being closely occupied with the preparation of the German peace terms, put off the proposed meeting with the delegates from time to time, covering a period of something like two weeks.

The American commission finally called upon Col. House, explained once more that no part of the duties of their mission called for a meeting with Mr. Lloyd-George, and asked him to address a formal request for the safe conducts for Messrs. De Valera, Griffith, and Plunkett, to Mr. Lloyd-George, and secure, if possible, a prompt and direct answer to that request.

Upon the same day, and shortly before the visit of the commission to Col. House, Messrs. Sean T. O'Ceallaigh and George Gavan Duffy, the representative of the Irish republic in Paris, conveyed an invitation from President De Valera to the commission to visit Dublin, and gave, among other reasons, the necessity for a conference upon matters of grave importance at the time transpiring in Ireland.

When we arrived at the office of Col. House in the Hotel Crillon that evening to receive an answer from Mr. Lloyd-George, we found Sir William Wiseman, the liaison officer between the American and British embassies in Paris. He presented the apologies of Mr. Lloyd-George for the delay, and said that Mr. Lloyd-George would like to fix a time for the interview upon some day of the following week. Mr. Walsh, speaking for the commission, replied that if they were to remain another week in Paris before receiving an answer to their request for the safe conducts, they wished to use the time in a visit to Ireland for the purpose of meeting the representatives of the Irish people and of making a first-hand investigation of conditions in Ireland.

As the passports of the members of the commission did not include England and Ireland, it was necessary to have them amended, which was expeditiously done, the amended passports reading that the members of the commission were going to Ireland on an "unofficial political mission," and the forms of the passports were made diplomatic, which greatly facilitated their movements.

It should be noted that after the visit to Ireland demands were made in the English Parliament for a full report from the prime minister as to whether or not it was true that he intended issuing safe conducts to the Irish representatives, and also if it was his purpose to have an interview in Paris with the members of the American commission.

Mr. Bonar Law, leader of the House of Commons, made official answer for the prime minister and stated that Mr. Lloyd-George had not and never had the slightest intention of granting safe conducts to the Irish representatives. He said that Mr. Lloyd-George had agreed to the visit of the American commission to Ireland, hoping upon their return that he could press upon them the "English point of view," to be used as propaganda in America.

The lord chancellor, officially replying to the same questions in the House of Lords, likewise denied, on behalf of the prime minister, that there was ever any intention to grant safe conducts to Messrs. De Valera, Griffith, and Plunkett, and declared it was the purpose of the prime minister to have present at his interview with the American commission upon their return from Ireland all of the American newspaper correspondents, so that he (the prime minister) might make a statement of England's attitude on the Irish problem which would tend to allay the growing prejudice against England in the United States.

When the passports were handed to the American commissioners on the morning of their departure for Ireland, Sir William Wiseman stated that Mr. Lloyd-

George wished the commission to go to all parts of Ireland, if possible and it was his especial request that they should visit Belfast.

Upon repeating Sir William Wiseman's request to Messrs. Sean T. O'Ceallaigh and George Gavan Duffy, the envoys of the Irish republican government at Paris, they joined in the request that we should make a close investigation of conditions in Ireland, and especially urged that we should visit the jails, particularly those in the larger cities, where, they asserted, hundreds of men and women were confined under circumstances of the most shocking nature.

Crossing the Irish Sea from Holyhead to Dunleary we came upon the first evidence of the military occupation of Ireland. The vessel and wharves swarmed with soldiers, fully equipped for the field, going to and coming from Ireland.

When we arrived in Ireland we found soldiers everywhere. A careful investigation made on the day before we left Ireland showed that the army of occupation numbers considerably over 100,000 men, to which accessions are being made daily. The troops are equipped with lorries, armored cars, tanks, machine guns, bombing planes, light and heavy artillery; and in fact all of the engines of war lately employed against the Central Powers.

In addition to this there are approximately 15,000 members of the Royal Irish Constabulary. The constabulary is a branch of the military forces. They are armed with rifles, as well as small side arms, engage in regular drill and field maneuvers. They are never residents of the districts which they occupy, and have quarters in regular government barracks.

After our arrival in Ireland we conferred with President De Valera as to the prisons which we should visit, and Mountjoy Jail, in the city of Dublin, was selected, for the reason that it contained a large number of political prisoners, many of them men of the highest character and standing. Mountjoy, so far as physical equipment and brutality of conduct goes, is not as bad as many of the other jails in Ireland.

We made our demand for permission to visit this jail through the municipal authorities of the city of Dublin. The governor of the prison, a resident of England, who had been in office but a few weeks, refused us admission. It was then explained to Sir John Irwin, chairman of the visiting justices of Mountjoy prison, that the commission was traveling on diplomatic passports and was investigating conditions in Ireland, partly at the solicitation of the prime minister. With this explanation Sir John Irwin, who is in supreme authority of the jail, overruled the decision of the governor and we were admitted to Mountjoy.

When we appeared at the gate we were ushered into the office of the governor, where we found Sir John Irwin. The governor told us that we were to be admitted to the prison, but with the understanding that we should not speak to any prisoner nor seek to fix the identity of any prisoner exhibited.

Although Mountjoy is called a jail it is, as a matter of fact, a combination of jail and penitentiary. It is surrounded by a stone wall 20 feet in height, and is larger than any of the midwestern American penitentiaries, such as Jefferson City or Joliet, and almost as large as Sing Sing. It has immense cell houses, built to accommodate approximately 1,000 prisoners. It is equipped with workshops, where men convicted of serious crimes are confined at hard labor. It is also used for the confinement of persons awaiting trial, as well as misdemeanants serving sentences for petty offenses.

Exclusive of the political prisoners, there were but 12 persons in confinement, all of them undergoing sentence for petty infractions of law.

One of the men who accompanied us upon the visit was an official of the city of Dublin, well acquainted with all of the political prisoners, so that we had no difficulty in identifying them. They were confined for the most part in groups, the majority of them being locked up in steel cages built in the yards of the prison, entirely outside of the buildings proper. These cages are exact duplicates of those used for wild animals in the larger zoological gardens, such as Lincoln Park and the Bronx in the United States.

Statements had been made that unspeakable outrages were being committed against the persons of these men and the most barbarous cruelties inflicted upon them. That they had been starved, beaten, confined in dark and noisome underground cells, otherwise maltreated, and kept for days with their hands handcuffed behind their backs.

We attempted to secure statements from the officers, either confirming or denying the charges. We were permitted to talk to no one inside the prison except the governor. He stated that no such barbarities had been committed

since he had taken charge of the prison a week or two before. He refused to speak for any time prior to that. He at first denied that there were underground cells in the prison. We had been furnished, however, with a plan showing their location, and upon our insistence we were allowed entrance. We found a great number of cells underground too narrow for human occupation, without beds or covering for the prisoners, no ventilation, pitch dark, and extremely cold, although the weather at the time was not severe. The chief warden admitted that these cells were at times occupied by prisoners.

Our information, well authenticated, is to the effect that a large number of political prisoners were taken out of the underground cells after we had demanded admission the night previous.

We found one of the political prisoners still in solitary confinement. He presented a pitiable spectacle. The miserable cell was cold and badly ventilated. He was in an unkempt condition, highly nervous, palpably undernourished, and had a wild glare in his eyes, indicating an extremely dangerous mental state. He tried to speak to us, but was quickly silenced by the warden.

The political prisoners in this jail, without exception, are men of the highest standing—journalists, lawyers, business men, skilled tradesmen, and laborers. Many of them, confined for months, have not been informed of the charge against them. All of them are denied the right of trial by jury. When charges are made—often of the most trivial character—bail is denied. They were all emaciated and appeared to be suffering from malnutrition. Of the thousands of German prisoners we have seen in France none of them showed such wretched physical condition or had countenances so marked with pain as the prisoners in Mountjoy.

As we were leaving the prison we were attracted by shouts in the rear of the main hall of the prison. Looking around we saw Pierce Beasley, one of the political prisoners, an Irish journalist of the highest standing, and one of the most beloved men in Ireland, being hustled through the back door-way by a burly prison guard.

Beasley cried out, "I want to call your attention to the fact that this brute who has me in charge is about to punish me for saying, 'Long live the republic.'" We immediately protested against the assault on Mr. Beasley. The governor of the prison hastened back to where the men were, and, after a hurried whispered conversation with the guard, returned and said that we could be assured that no punishment would be inflicted upon Mr. Beasley.

Upon our return from the prison we were furnished with detailed statements of others who had been confined in the prison, exposing the vilest atrocities committed against prisoners.

Having received information that there were a large number of prisoners confined in a smaller prison in the town of Westport, County Mayo, which place was invested by troops, we announced our intention after leaving Mountjoy jail, of visiting Westport. Shortly before the departure of our train upon the following evening two policemen appeared at our apartments, and handed us an unsigned typewritten letter, notifying us that we would not be permitted to enter the town of Westport, the only reason given being that it was "within a military area." We proceeded, nevertheless, to Westport.

As we approached the town a company of soldiers met us about three miles out, and the lieutenant announced, in a surly tone, that under no circumstances would we be permitted to enter. We demanded to see the colonel, to whom we showed our passports, repeated the message of Mr. Lloyd-George delivered through Sir William Wiseman, to the effect that he wanted us to visit all of Ireland, explained that we were conducting an investigation under the authority of the Prime Minister. We advised him that we understood that revolting conditions existed in Westport. The colonel, however, declared that he would take the full responsibility of not complying with the request of even so high a personage as the Prime Minister of England, though he stated that he was acting on orders from the Government officials in Dublin.

Many of the persons we met in the vicinity corroborated the stories of brutal treatment to which prisoners in the Westport jail were being subjected, the details being horrible beyond belief.

During our visit to Ireland we witnessed numerous assaults in public streets and highways with bayonets and clubbed rifles upon men and women known to be republicans, or suspected of being in favor of a republican form of government. Many of the outraged persons were men and women of exemplary character and occupying high positions in the business and professional life of the country.

We took statements covering hundreds of cases of outrage and violence committed by the officers and representatives of the English Government in Ireland, the details of which we set forth herein.

The excesses and atrocities detailed are either being actually committed at the present time or have been committed within the recent past, as a part of a scheme and plan to crush out and repress the effort of the Irish people to establish a republican form of government in Ireland.

Upon the basis of what we witnessed ourselves, as well as statements of men and women of unimpeachable integrity, we make the following specific charges:

(1) Within the past few months at least 10 citizens have been killed by soldiers and constables under circumstances which in a majority of the cases coroners' juries found to be willful murder under the laws of England; the last man having been murdered in this way less than one month ago.

In all of these cases the perpetrators of the crimes have gone unpunished.

(2) Hundreds of men and women have been confined for months in the vilest prisons without any charges being preferred against them.

(3) At least five men have died as the result of atrocities perpetrated upon them while in prison, the post-mortem examination in some of the cases disclosing marks of violence upon the bodies of the victims.

(4) Prisoners are confined in narrow cells with hands handcuffed behind them day and night. In this condition they are fed by jail attendants. They are permitted no opportunity of answering calls of nature, and are compelled to lie in their clothing, befouled by human excrement, for days at a time.

(5) Persons are confined in cells which are not large enough for one man. They are not provided with beds or bunks of any kind, but are compelled to sleep upon the bare floors. There are no toilet facilities or receptacles to contain the human offal, which necessarily accumulates upon the floors where men are compelled to sleep in the filth night after night.

(6) The food is insufficient and unwholesome. Prisoners, men and women, are compelled to live for days upon water and poorly baked sour and stale bread.

(7) Hundreds of men and women have been discharged from jail with impaired constitutions, and are in many cases incurable invalids as a result of their treatment.

(8) During the past winter and spring streams of ice-cold water were poured upon men confined in jail, and they were compelled to lie all night on cold floors in unheated cells in their wet clothing. Many of them were afterwards removed to outside hospitals suffering with pneumonia.

(9) Police and soldiers are habitually permitted to enter the cells where political prisoners are confined and to beat them with their clubs.

(10) Solitary confinement in most horrible form is generally practiced. Numbers of prisoners have been taken directly from the jails to insane asylums, rendered maniacs by their treatment.

(11) Large bodies of political prisoners, in certain jails, have been kept without any food whatever for days at a time.

(12) The right of privacy no longer exists in Ireland. The homes of the people are constantly being invaded by armed men, and the occupants, including delicate women and young children, cruelly beaten and otherwise maltreated.

(13) The children of suspected republicans, many of tender years, are kidnapped and their parents kept in ignorance of their whereabouts for weeks.

(14) Women and children of refinement and respectability are arrested without warrant, and in company of rough and brutal soldiers transported to distant parts of Ireland and England, where they are confined in jail with the lowest prostitutes, some of whom are suffering from vile diseases, and are compelled to use the same toilet facilities and thus expose themselves to the danger of infection.

(15) The right of private property no longer exists in Ireland. Places of business of republicans are invaded by soldiers and constables, fixtures destroyed and property confiscated without compensation. In many cases the owners of such businesses and property are utterly impoverished.

(16) Heads of hundreds of families have been jailed or deported, leaving dependent women and children without means of subsistence, and rendered objects of public charity.

(17) Men and women on mere suspicion of having republican sympathies are being taken from their homes and arrested upon the streets and highways

of Ireland; deported to England, or confined in jails in remote places, while their distracted families are kept sometimes for many months in ignorance of their whereabouts.

Among the leaders of the republican movement in Ireland, many of whom have had these atrocities practiced upon their persons, are lawyers, such as Edward Duggan, George Nichols, and John Hanrahan, who rank relatively with such men in the United States as Morgan J. O'Brien, John B. Stanchfield, Levi Mayer, or A. Mitchell Palmer.

Some of the men whom we actually saw in jail, in a pitiable condition, were newspaper men who rank with Henry Watterson, or the late Col. William R. Nelson, of Kansas City. This comparison is made because two of the prisoners in Mountjoy, Messrs. Pierce Beasley and William Seares, are the owners or principal stockholders of papers which they edit themselves. Many others we actually saw in prison are working newspaper men and correspondents of high-class publications, such as Charles H. Grasty, Frank H. Simmonds, and Herbert Bayard Swope.

Among the men we saw in prison are stock raisers and farmers, business men of large affairs, and literary men of brilliant parts and of the highest character.

We witnessed while in Ireland a brutal and unprovoked assault by an English colonel and a crowd of soldiers upon the person of Prof. John Mac Neill. Prof. Mac Neill is a member of the faculty of the National University, is an educator and publicist of the highest type, a member of Parliament, and occupies relatively the same position in Ireland that William Howard Taft or Nicholas Murray Butler does in the United States.

EDUCATION.

If England ever had an educational system in Ireland it has completely broken down.

The Irish people are taxed more for the support of the police and constabulary, although the country is practically crimeless in the ordinary sense, than they are for the maintenance of the whole educational system of Ireland, including the upkeep of the National University, Trinity College, as well as all the primary and other schools in the land.

School teachers in the primary schools are paid as low as \$4 per week.

No system of hygiene or sanitation has been installed. The teeth of practically all the children are in decay, and respiratory and throat troubles exist to an alarming degree.

Lack of decent clothing and undernourishment is keeping thousands of children out of school.

ANTISOCIAL CONDITIONS.

In the city of Dublin alone there are 20,000 families, on an average of five to each family, living in one-room tenements. Infant mortality is appalling. Destitution and hunger are rife.

Municipal bodies and private persons attempted to extend relief, but such activities must have the sanction of the English Government, which is difficult, if not impossible, to obtain.

LAND LAWS.

The much vaunted land laws have not appreciably aided in decreasing poverty in the agricultural districts.

Leaving out of the question the manifold defects and hardships in the operations of the law, all the farmer might gain by his ownership of the land is taken away from him by unjust taxes and monopolistic control of the necessities of life.

When the first land law was passed in 1881 the direct per capita tax in Ireland was about \$6 per head. At the present time the direct taxation, imposed by British law, amounts annually to the enormous sum of \$45 per head.

Indirect taxation of the people can not be accurately estimated, but is higher proportionately than in any other country in the world.

The age-old curse of absentee landlordism still cuts deeply into the economic heart of Ireland. Hundreds of thousands of its most fertile acres are owned by foreigners. As quickly as the rich crops are garnered they are taken out of

the country, and this immense food supply and almost infinite source of wealth is lost to her people forever.

England has cut off Ireland from the outside commerce of the world, allows no ship to come trans-Atlantic to her ports, and thus controls the prices of the necessities of life for her inhabitants.

This combined system of taxation and monopoly automatically takes away the legitimate profit from the farmer, no matter how fertile the land, propitious the season, or energetic the individual, and sucks the life blood out of all industry.

LABOR.

Ireland has the best organized and most coherent labor movement in the world. It is being thwarted and suppressed by the army and constabulary. Wages of unskilled workers are below a line which means to them, hunger, cold, and privation. The wage of skilled labor is far below the minimum for decent existence.

In many of the larger cities and towns the trade-unions have a 100 per cent organization. We met and interviewed almost all of the national leaders of labor. The heads of the National Irish Labor Party, which is in control of the situation, are, without exception, ardent republicans, fully alive to their rights and insisting on self-determination for Ireland. They have all been the innocent victims of atrocities against their own persons such as are enumerated herein, in the jails of Ireland and England.

They work along traditional trade-union lines. If their country is not freed of foreign control and exploitation, and quickly, many of them declare that in sheer defense of their own lives, they will be compelled to set up local Soviet governments, and refuse longer to produce wealth for their oppressors.

THE REVOLUTION.

Ireland for the first time in more than 100 years is absolutely cut off from England, its regularly elected members of Parliament having with few exceptions refused to go to Westminster. They are attempting, under the guns of the English soldiers, to hold orderly sessions in the Mansion House in Dublin.

There is a military organization of approximately 200,000 republican volunteers of fighting age, poorly equipped as to arms, and without artillery. They appear to be well officered, and seemingly maintain a perfect organization, engaging in daily drills and frequent maneuvers. Upon all sides may be heard declarations that they are ready to fight and die for the right of self-determination, no matter how great the odds against them may be.

Guerilla warfare of the character which usually precedes major conflicts is now going on in Ireland. Almost every day there are fights between small detachments of the army of occupation and groups of republican volunteers. One day the British soldiers prevail, with the result that citizens are killed. In another day or two perhaps the republican volunteers are successful, with the result that soldiers are killed. Frequently the British soldiery wound and capture the volunteers, and in turn the volunteers kill or wound the soldiers and retake the prisoners.

With a ferocity unparalleled even in the history of modern warfare, within the past few days men and women have been shot down in the streets of Dublin.

The killing by the British Government of these republican volunteers would not settle the Irish problem. Those below the fighting age, and even the children of Ireland, are singing The Soldier's Song, shouting "Long live the republic," and trying to enlist in the revolutionary movement.

ENGLISH TESTIMONY.

Mr. Erskine Childers, an English writer of high repute, who served Great Britain throughout the war in the Royal Naval Flying Corps, coming out a major, made the following declaration in regard to the Irish situation in the London Daily Herald of May 26, 1919:

"I could bomb a crowd from an aeroplane with a better conscience (and more skill) than engage in this cold blooded systematic condemnation of respectable people to the rigors and ignominies of jail life—to loss of health, loss of business and career, too often to loss of life; not for breaking the moral law, but in very truth or obeying that universal law which impels men worthy of the name of men to become free."

Lord Cavendish Bentinck, a Unionist member of the House of Commons, within the last month declared upon the floor of that body, that England was not governing Ireland, but was engaged in a mere scuffle with the Irish people.

The lord chancellor of England, in an official report to the House of Lords within the last fortnight, made the confession that the vast majority of the people of Ireland were now in open rebellion against the rule of the British Government.

Right Hon. Herbert H. Asquith, former prime minister of Great Britain, made the following statement upon June 2, 1919, which appeared in to-day's London Daily Mail:

"Lord French is at present viceroy of Ireland, which to-day is the darkest of the dark spots on the map, not of Great Britain, but of the world."

DEMAND FOR INVESTIGATION.

All of the charges herein made are based upon the actual observation of the signers while in Ireland, or upon the statements of men and women of unimpeachable character, who are prepared to make direct legal proof of every crime and atrocity set forth.

The Government of Great Britain, up to this time, has measurably succeeded in hiding the details of these atrocities from the peace conference and the people of the world. From time to time, when crimes and atrocities are forced into publicity, they are met in three ways.

(1) Some distinguished English statesman or high official, usually one without personal knowledge of the facts, solemnly denies the truth of the charges.

(b) The British press impressively and unanimously denounces the charges as false, and carries many communications from persons claiming to have knowledge of the facts, and bearing testimony to their falsity.

(c) Government investigations before partisan judges, where testimony is controlled by implicated officials, resort often being had to intimidation of witnesses and subornation of perjury.

In order that the peace conference may act in the light of knowledge of the conditions, and be fully advised as to the effort of England to keep the people of Ireland in subjection by military power and violence, in contravention of the principles for which the peace conference was convoked, we respectfully urge the appointment of a commission to ascertain the facts and report the same to the peace conference, and respectfully submit the following alternative suggestions as to its formation and appointment:

(a) That an impartial committee be appointed by the peace conference, authorized to sit in the cities of Dublin and London, to take testimony as to the alleged facts herein set forth.

None of the members of such committee to be residents or citizens of Great Britain, Ireland, or any of the countries under the domination of Great Britain, or over which that country claims to exercise a protectorate or control.

(b) That a committee of seven be selected immediately in the manner following.

The prime minister of England shall select three members; the elected representatives of Ireland, including Unionists, Nationalists, and Republicans, shall, by a majority vote, select three members of said committee; that the six members thus selected shall agree upon a chairman, who shall be a resident and citizen of the United States, France, or Italy. In case of inability or failure to agree upon a chairman, the selection shall be made by the Supreme Court of the United States. That the Government of Great Britain and the elected members of Parliament from Ireland, as aforesaid, shall each have the right to select its own counsel, to conduct the examination of witnesses and assist in the investigation, the only restriction being that counsel so selected shall be reputable members of the legal profession in good standing in the country of which he or they are citizens.

We sincerely urge that if the peace conference refuses a hearing to the people of Ireland, in these circumstances, the guilt for the commission of these monstrous crimes and atrocities, as well as for the bloody revolution which may shortly come, must, from this time forward, be shared with Great Britain by the members of the peace conference, if not by the peoples whom they represent.

Respectfully submitted.

AMERICAN COMMISSION ON IRISH INDEPENDENCE,
FRANK P. WALSH, *Chairman*,
E. F. DUNNE.

PARIS, June 3, 1919.

AMERICAN COMMISSION ON IRISH INDEPENDENCE,
Paris, June 6, 1919.

DEAR MR. PRESIDENT: We have the honor to hand you herewith report on conditions in Ireland with demand for investigation by the peace conference.

On account of the serious and critical situation exposed by the report, we beg that you will be good enough to give this document your careful consideration, and also to present the same to the full peace conference or to the committee of the five great powers, whichever may be the proper course under the practice of the conference.

With assurances of our great respect and esteem, we are,

Sincerely,

AMERICAN COMMISSION ON IRISH INDEPENDENCE,
 FRANK P. WALSH, *Chairman*,
 E. F. DUNNE.

The PRESIDENT OF THE UNITED STATES,
Paris.

AMERICAN COMMISSION ON IRISH INDEPENDENCE,
Paris, June 6, 1919.

SIR: We have the honor to hand you three copies of document entitled "Report on conditions in Ireland, with demand for investigation by the peace conference," which we have this day transmitted to the President, with copy to Hon. David Lloyd-George, prime minister of England.

In view of the fact that the Senate of the United States is now considering the subject of a new treaty or treaties with the Government of Great Britain, and on account of the further fact that the House of Representatives has heretofore passed a resolution in favor of Ireland's right of self-determination, which has not been acted upon by the peace conference, unless in secret session, of which we have had no advices, we respectfully request that you kindly transmit one copy of this document to the Senate and one to the House of Representatives of the United States, in conformity with the customs and practices of the State Department.

With assurances of our great respect and consideration, we are,

Respectfully,

AMERICAN COMMISSION ON IRISH INDEPENDENCE,
 FRANK P. WALSH, *Chairman*,
 E. F. DUNNE.

Hon. ROBERT LANSING,
Secretary of State of the United States, Paris.

AMERICAN COMMISSION ON IRISH INDEPENDENCE,
Paris, June 6, 1919.

SIR: Complying with your request of May 1, 1919, made through Sir William Wiseman, and assented to by Messrs. Sean T. O'Ceallaigh and George Gavan Duffy, the representatives at Paris of the Irish republican government, that we visit every part of Ireland, and especially Belfast, to ascertain the actual conditions existing in that country.

We have the honor to inform you that we have, except where prevented by the use of the military forces of the English army of occupation, visited the four provinces of Ireland, including Belfast, as well as the other principal cities and towns.

We have prepared a report covering the facts, with certain recommendations.

In order that the Government of Great Britain may be informed, we herewith hand you copy of this report, which, in addition to the presentation of facts, contains a demand for an investigation under the authority of the peace conference.

We also wish to advise your Government that the original of this document has this day been handed to the President of the United States, and that copies have been transmitted to the House of Representatives and the Senate of the United States, through the Secretary of State.

Respectfully,

AMERICAN COMMISSION ON IRISH INDEPENDENCE,
 FRANK P. WALSH, *Chairman*.
 E. F. DUNNE.

Hon. DAVID LLOYD-GEORGE, *Prime Minister of England, Paris.*

AMERICAN COMMISSION ON IRISH INDEPENDENCE,
Paris, June 8, 1919.

YOUR MAJESTY: We herewith transmit to you our "Report on conditions in Ireland with demand for investigation by the peace conference," together with copies of letters addresser to your prime minister, Mr. David Lloyd-George.

The original of this report has been delivered to the President of the United States for presentation to the peace conference, and copies have been forwarded to Hon. Robert Lansing, American Secretary of State, for transmission to the Congress of the United States.

Respectfully,

AMERICAN COMMISSION ON IRISH INDEPENDENCE,
 FRANK P. WALSH, *Chairman.*
 E. F. DUNNE.

His Majesty GEORGE V, *King of Great Britain, London, England.*

AMERICAN COMMISSION ON IRISH INDEPENDENCE,
Paris, June 8, 1919.

SIR: Upon the 22d ultimo, during the proceedings in the House of Lords on that date, as published in the London Times, you made a statement, in reply to a question of Viscount Midleton, as to the intentions of the prime minister with reference to giving publicity to the result of the findings of our investigation of conditions in Ireland.

We beg, therefore, to submit to you herewith, for presentation to the House of Lords, this report, together with copies of letter addressed to Hon. David Lloyd-George, prime minister.

Respectfully,

AMERICAN COMMISSION ON IRISH INDEPENDENCE,
 FRANK P. WALSH, *Chairman.*
 E. F. DUNNE.

Right. Hon. Lord BIRKENHEAD,
Lord Chancellor of England, House of Lords,
London, England.

AMERICAN COMMISSION ON IRISH INDEPENDENCE,
Paris, June 8, 1919.

SIR: Upon the 14th ultimo, during the proceedings in the House of Commons on that date, as published in the London Times, you made an official statement as to the intentions of the prime minister with reference to giving publicity to the result of the findings of our investigation of conditions in Ireland.

We beg, therefore, to submit to you herewith, for transmission to the cabinet, this report, together with copies of letters addressed to His Majesty King George V and Hon. David Lloyd-George, prime minister.

Respectfully,

AMERICAN COMMISSION ON IRISH INDEPENDENCE,
 FRANK P. WALSH, *Chairman.*
 E. F. DUNNE.

Mr. BONAR LAW,
Leader of the House of Commons,
London, England.

AMERICAN COMMISSION ON IRISH INDEPENDENCE,
Paris, June 8, 1919.

SIR: We have the honor to hand you herewith "Report on conditions in Ireland with demand for investigation by the peace conference," together with copies of letters addressed to the President of the United States, the American Secretary of State, and the Hon. David Lloyd-George, British prime minister, upon the same subject.

As you are doubtless aware, charges have been made that matters deeply affecting the peace of the world, such as the condition of Ireland, are habitually suppressed by English newspapers. In order that your paper may be thor-

oughly advised and that there should be no misunderstanding upon the subject later, we take this opportunity to submit the inclosed documents.

Respectfully, yours,

AMERICAN COMMISSION ON IRISH INDEPENDENCE,
FRANK P. WALSH, *Chairman*.
E. F. DUNNE.

EDITOR LONDON TIMES,
London, England.

[This report was given publicity in Paris on the morning of June 3, 1919. Inasmuch as the report had the appearance of having been suppressed by all of the London papers except the Daily News and Herald, special copies were forwarded to the editors in London, accompanied by identical letters as above.]

REPLY TO THE STATEMENT OF THE HON. IAN MACPHERSON, CHIEF SECRETARY FOR IRELAND, BY FRANK P. WALSH, CHAIRMAN OF THE AMERICAN COMMISSION ON IRISH INDEPENDENCE.

At the request of the Hon. David Lloyd-George, prime minister of England, transmitted by Sir William Wiseman, secretary of the British embassy at Paris, and assented to by Messrs. Sean T. O'Calleagh and George Cavan Duffy, envoys of the Irish republic at the peace conference, the American Commission on Irish Independence, represented by Hon. Edward F. Dunne, former governor of Illinois, Michael J. Ryan, of Philadelphia, and myself visited the four Provinces of Ireland, including Dublin, Cork, Belfast, and other large cities, for the purpose of ascertaining existing conditions.

Upon June 3, 1919, the American Commission transmitted its report to the peace conference, at the same moment handing copies to President Wilson, His Majesty King George V, the prime minister of England, and likewise forwarding copies to the Senate of the United States.

The report contained a list of hideous atrocities being practiced upon the people of Ireland by the English army of occupation in Ireland. The report was suppressed by the English censor in Ireland, and the English press initially printed incomplete and garbled accounts thereof.

After a silence of more than two weeks and upon the insistent demand of the English press, notably the London Times, Mr. Ian MacPherson, English Chief Secretary for Ireland, issued a categorical statement confessing many of the charges denying others and making explanations in the nature of avoidance covering many of them. The answer of Mr. MacPherson was editorially denounced by the London Times as halting and evasive; by the London News, Manchester Guardian, and London Herald as containing damaging and shameful admissions of misgovernment and violation of human rights in Ireland.

Upon the 27th of July there was released to the American papers and all of the news agencies an additional answer by Mr. MacPherson to the atrocity charges reported by the American Commission, making sweeping denial of the same.

An issue of fact is thus clearly raised. If the original charges are true, England should be execrated by the liberty-loving people of the world, and Mr. MacPherson must go down in history as not only the prime mover and defender of the unspeakable crimes and cruelties set forth in the report, but as a dishonest and untruthful person. If the charges are untrue, then the signers of the report should be exposed as malicious falsifiers.

The original reports of the American Commission contained the following:

In order that the peace conference may act in the light of knowledge of the conditions and be fully advised as to the effect of England to keep the people of Ireland in subjection by military power and violence in contravention of the principles for which the peace conference was convoked, we respectfully urge the appointment of a commission to ascertain the facts and report the same to the peace conference, and respectfully submit the following alternative suggestions as to its formation and appointment:

(a) That an impartial committee be appointed by the peace conference, authorized to sit in the cities of Dublin and London, to take testimony as to the alleged facts herein set forth.

None of the members of such committee to be residents or citizens of Great Britain, Ireland, or any of the countries under the domination of Great Britain, or over which that country claims to exercise a protectorate or control.

(b) That a committee of seven be selected immediately in the manner following:

The Prime Minister of England shall select three members; the elected representatives of Ireland, including Unionists, Nationalists, and Republicans, shall, by a majority vote, select three members of said committee; that the six members thus selected shall agree upon a chairman, who shall be a resident and citizen of the United States, France, or Italy. In case of inability or failure to agree upon a chairman, the selection shall be made by the Supreme Court of the United States. That the Government of Great Britain and the elected members of Parliament from Ireland, as aforesaid, shall each have the right to select its own counsel, to conduct the examination of witnesses selected, shall be reputable members of the legal profession in good standing in the country of which he or they are citizens.

The latest answer by Mr. MacPherson, published broadcast in America, consists mainly of bald denials, unsupported by any citation to [sic] the military authorities who have first-hand information as to the truth or falsity of the charges, and without informative detailed proof to substantiate the same.

Assuming that England must eventually agree to an impartial court of inquiry substantially along the lines suggested herein, we make offer to prove the following:

ASSAULT UPON PROF. MACNEILL.

In addition to the statements of the investigators who witnessed the assault, we will produce at least 20 impartial persons who saw the assault and who will testify to its brutal nature and the insults which accompanied it.

POLITICAL PRISONERS IN ANIMAL CAGES.

To prove that the prisoners in Mountjoy Prison were exhibited in cages ordinarily used for wild animals, we will produce photographs of the cages unless they have been removed; in which event we will produce at least 50 prisoners who occupied them and a countless number of impartial witnesses who saw them.

VICTIMS RENDERED INSANE.

We will produce the records of the jails and insane asylums, as well as the victims who have recovered, and the relatives of those who have not, to prove our charges that numbers of Irish republicans were rendered insane by their treatment.

PNEUMONIA VICTIMS.

We will produce hospital records, testimony of physicians of the highest standing, as well as intelligent and impartial witnesses who treated and saw the victims while suffering from pneumonia, caused by having cold water thrown upon them from a hose in different prisons, also names and death certificates of those who died from the treatment.

DEAD, WOUNDED, AND DISABLED.

We will produce a list of the dead, those who were permanently maimed and disfigured by the atrocities practiced upon them; also a list of those whose health has been shattered and who have been rendered incurable invalids by their treatment, all accompanied by names and dates.

VIOLENT SUPPRESSION OF LABOR.

We will produce proof that the leaders of the national labor movement have been arrested without being informed of any charge against them, confined in jail in many instances for weeks and months; that while so confined they were treated with extreme harshness and cruelty; that their activities are spied upon by an army of detectives and their meetings infested by agents provocative; that their orderly meetings have been dispersed by the military authorities and violent assaults committed upon the bodies of men and women seeking to carry on the orderly business of their organizations; that permanent machine-

gun emplacements have been erected and guns mounted thereon by the military engineers of the Army of Occupation, so that Liberty Hall in Dublin, the headquarters of the Irish National Labor Union, may be subjected to destructive assaults at a moment's notice.

INDISPUTABLE PROOF OF OTHER CHARGES.

These, as well as the other charges in the original and supplemental report of the investigators, we are ready to substantiate not only by the testimony of the victims, but by hundreds of disinterested witnesses, including past and present members of the English Army and Royal Irish Constabulary, who, sickened at the atrocious acts they were called upon to perform and witness, either resigned their commissions or now stand ready to sacrifice their careers in the interest of humanity and justice.

The issue now has been clearly made and formally submitted to the people of the United States and the world by the official reports of the American Commission on Irish Independence and the formal reply of Hon. Ian MacPherson, chief secretary for Ireland, representing Great Britain in the controversy. We respectfully submit, not only in justice to the character of the signers of our original report, which we assert to have been unjustly and maliciously assailed, but to the cause of a righteous and enduring peace, that unless the English Government quickly agrees to the institution of an impartial court of inquiry by the peace conference its case should go by default and England must stand convicted by thinking mankind as a cruel marauder of human rights and the one remaining government of the world imposing its rule upon others by force of arms and exploiting weaker peoples by ugly might alone.

FRANK P. WALSH,

Chairman American Commission on Irish Independence.

NEW YORK, August 4, 1919.

[Copy of cablegram.]

NEW YORK, August 8, 1919.

IAN MACPHERSON,

Chief Secretary for Ireland,

Dublin Castle, Dublin, Ireland:

Am forwarding you by mail to-day reply to your statement denying facts set forth in report of American Commission on Irish Independence, dated June 3, 1919, so that you may be advised. Meantime I can not overlook the issue of personal veracity and honor which you have injected into the controversy. This is to inform you that unless you immediately join in request for appointment of impartial committee of inquiry by the peace conference I shall publicly stigmatize you as a falsifier and your answer to our report as a piece of willful mendacity on the part of a high official unparalleled in the field of crooked politics.

FRANK P. WALSH,

Chairman American Commission on Irish Independence.

MR. WALSH. I want to say, of course, Mr. Chairman and Senator Fall, that we will be very glad to accede to whatever is the pleasure of this committee.

SENATOR JOHNSON of California. We want nothing secret, Mr. Walsh.

MR. WALSH. I think it is a good idea. Neither do we want anything secret. At the same time, there were certain elements about it that we thought they would prefer to have held confidential.

SENATOR JOHNSON of California. They were our delegates, were they not?

MR. WALSH. Yes; and we claim, and I presented a legal argument to Secretary Lansing on the proposition, that they had in no way divested themselves of their official character; that they were sent over there for this purpose; that they not only had the right to

attend to the matter in hand, but that they had the right to hear any representative American citizen in any sort of representative capacity that had anything to present. We will be glad to submit these documents under whatever rules you may be pleased to make.

(Subsequently the committee ordered the confidential documents to be made a part of the record, and they are here printed, as follows:)

INTERVIEW BETWEEN PRESIDENT WILSON AND MESSRS. EDWARD F. DUNNE AND FRANK P. WALSH, AT THE PRESIDENT'S HOUSE, 11 PLACE DES ETATS UNIS, PARIS, WEDNESDAY, JUNE 11, 1919.

Mr. Walsh and Gov. Dunne called upon the President by appointment at 2.15 p. m. Gov. Dunne started by saying that Mr. Walsh would open the case concerning which we called.

Mr. Walsh stated to the President that we had come to see him to ask him if he would not secure a hearing for us before the "Big Four," or whatever other committee might be delegated to hear the case of Ireland. That we had made a formal request of Mr. Lansing for safe conduct for Messrs. de Valera, Griffith, and Plunkett, and had received a communication from him to the effect that it would be futile to make the request. The President interrupted Mr. Walsh and said, "That is an official request, Mr. Walsh." Mr. Walsh stated that he had not been able to disentangle this official and unofficial business. He said, "What I am talking about is the denial of our request that the Americans should intervene to get the safe conducts for these men."

The President said, "Well, of course, since that time, gentlemen, you know the Senate has passed a resolution upon the subject." Mr. Walsh said, "Well, the point of our request to-day is that if we are to assume that these men are not going to be allowed to come here, then we want to advise you that the people of Ireland are in actual physical captivity; that those who would speak for them are not allowed to come here, and are restrained by the force of an army of occupation which is now occupying the country."

We called the attention of the President to the fact that at the outbreak of the war there was a home-rule bill signed by the King and which ought to have been put in operation, but in violation of their so-called English law, it was not put into operation. Later the time for its operation was extended for a year, and later again it was extended until after the war. Lloyd-George then gave out a formal call for a convention. The convention was organized under the chairmanship of Sir Horace Plunkett. It began to reach a stage where it looked as though there was going to be an agreement; as a matter of fact when the Irish get together, north and south, they always almost agree. When Lloyd-George saw there was going to be an agreement, he wrote a letter to the convention stating, among other things, that the English Government would recognize nothing which they did that might interfere with the existing system of taxation and conduct of the army. This meant that no matter what the convention did, England could still exploit Ireland and keep her under subjection by her army of occupation.

Mr. Walsh further stated that England now has a blockade against Ireland as effective as the Allies had against the Central Powers; that it amounts to an impost upon every bite of food that the people of Ireland bring in from the outside, and on everything that they ship outside the island. Mr. Walsh told the President that no ships were allowed to touch at any port, trans-Atlantic, that the country could not trade with the United States or other countries, and other countries could not trade with it. That Ireland was the most lawabiding country on the face of the earth, with a great respect for law and order and the rights of private property, but that unless some relief was given that the workers there would have, in self-defense, to set up Soviet governments or do something else to relieve the situation.

The President said, "Of course, you should understand that no small nation of any kind has yet appeared before the Committee of Four, and there is an agreement among the Committee of Four that none can come unless unanimous consent is given by the whole committee."

Gov. Dunne addressed the President, and said: "Has no small nation complaining of injustice on the part of any of the victor nations ever appeared as yet?" The President said, "There is no nation that has had its right considered by the peace conference except those that were actually concerned in the war. We have not attempted to inquire into ancient wrongs."

Mr. Walsh then said, "Mr. President, it is the present injustice, and the guerilla warfare that now exists, that we think should receive consideration. Suppose we present a case of this kind, a country in which a state of war actually exists. Do you

mean to say, Mr. President, that you would just close the matter and let the war go on?" The President replied, "I am only one of this conference, why should this whole thing be left to me?" Mr. Walsh said, "We are leaving it to you, Mr. President, because you are the commanding figure in the peace conference, and because it was you who raised the hopes in the hearts of these people that they could come to you. We come to you because we are asking you to use your powerful influence with the other members of the committee to get us a hearing."

Mr. Walsh further said, "In my conversations with the representatives of the Irish republic, President de Valera asked me to ask you a question. I will read from your statements at the time we entered the war." Mr. Walsh then read the following:

"Peace should rest upon the rights of peoples, not on the rights of governments—the rights of peoples, great and small, weak or powerful; their equal right to freedom and security and self-government, and to participation, upon fair terms, in the economic opportunities of the world."

* * * * *

"It is the principle of justice to all peoples and nationalities, and their right to live on equal terms of liberty and safety with one another, whether they be strong or weak. Unless this principle be made its foundation, no part of the structure of international justice can stand."

* * * * *

"No man, no group of men, chose these to be the issues of the struggle. They are the issues of it, and they must be settled by no arrangement or compromise or adjustment of interests, but definitely and once for all, and with a full and unequivocal acceptance of the principle that the interest of the weakest is as safe as the interest of the strongest. * * * The impartial justice meted out must involve no discrimination between those to whom we wish to be just and those to whom we do not wish to be just. It must be justice that plays no favorites and knows no standards but the equal rights of the several peoples concerned."

Mr. Walsh continued: "Now, then, Mr. President, Mr. De Valera asked me to say to you—inasmuch as you state these are the issues; that there must be no arrangement or compromise, and that they must be settled definitely and once for all—to ask you now where is the place to settle them definitely, once for all, and how shall his people do it. Now that he is to be denied the right to come here by England, and you tell us now that we can not appear, in effect, before the peace conference, he asks this question, and I ask you. Where will he go? Where shall his people go? If it is to be settled definitely and once for all, and you say that the issue is made—and we agree with you that it is made—now, where is it to be settled definitely and once for all?"

The President said, "Mr. Walsh, do you think that any considerable number of people, when they read my declarations, thought that these settlements were to be made at some particular place, automatically, immediately?" Mr. Walsh replied, "Mr. President, I can speak first for myself. When I read it, I believed you meant Ireland. I believe that practically all the people in Ireland believed that, and all that I have met of our own people believed it."

Mr. Walsh continued, "Mr. President, I am afraid you do not understand the Irish situation." The President replied: "If you think I do not understand the Irish question, what did you come to me about it for?" Mr. Walsh replied: "I do not mean, Mr. President, that you do not understand the general history of Ireland, but I do say that you do not know what is going on in Ireland to-day; that is, its exploitation by England, the shooting down of its people in the streets, the sea blockade which England has in force against it—in short—all of the atrocities that are being practiced upon its citizens at this very moment." The President said, "Of course, I do not claim to know the local and specific matters referred to." Mr. Walsh said, "I believe you received an invitation to go to Ireland. I think it would be a fine thing for yourself and for the peace of the world if you accepted that invitation. The people would be delighted if you went to Ireland, and get an understanding of the situation at first hand."

The President said: "Now, Walsh, if it is your intention to go back to America and try to put me in bad, I am going to say when I go back that we were well on the way of getting Mr. De Valera and his associates over here; we were well on the way, when you made it so difficult by your speeches in Ireland that we could not do it; that it was you gentlemen who kicked over the apple cart."

Mr. Walsh replied, "Mr. President, have you read the statement made by the Lord Chancellor in the House of Lords and the statement made by Mr. Bonar Law in the House of Commons, both officially speaking for Mr. Lloyd-George, in which they stated that it was not his intention, and never had been, to grant safe conducts to

these men, and that it was his purpose, in having an interview with us after we came back from Ireland, to state the 'English case' to the American press representatives and serve England and not serve the people whom we were representing over here. Did you read that?"

The President said, "Now, Walsh, I am not going to discuss anything that was said in the British House of Commons or House of Lords, except to say this, that I was making an effort, and Col. House was making an effort, and that we thought we were well on the way of getting de Valera and his associates over here, but the speeches of you gentlemen gave such offense that the whole thing had to be abandoned."

Mr. Walsh said, "Mr. President, I have written a letter to Mr. Lansing, to which we have received no reply, asking him what were the utterances that offended these gentlemen, and who were the persons who were offended. Perhaps you may be able, Mr. President, to answer it. Was it Mr. Lloyd-George?"

The President said, "I have not said anything about Mr. Lloyd-George." Mr. Walsh said, "Who was it, then, to whom we gave offense?" The President replied, "Well, I would say that you offended the whole British Government." Mr. Walsh then said, "Well, then, you do not accept what Mr. Lloyd-George said to the effect that he was not going to allow them over in any event?" The President said, "Mr. Walsh, I am not going to discuss Mr. Lloyd-George."

Mr. Walsh said, "Would you be good enough to see the gentlemen who were offended, and if that was what stood in the way, if two others would come before them that had not given such offense, would they answer their request?" The President said "There is no use discussing that; I don't know what the British Government would say, and I have said all I can say on the subject."

The President continued, "I want you gentlemen to understand that our position is this: That we are dealing officially with these Governments. You would not want us to make representations or engage in an effort that might involve the sending of troops into Europe, and I know that our people would not want that. What I am saying to you is that we can not, and under no circumstances could we have at any time since we have been here, do anything in this matter of an official nature; but I want to say to you that I have the deepest sympathy for Ireland and her people and her cause. I know I speak for the others when I say that all we could do unofficially we have been doing and will do."

Mr. Walsh said, "In order that there may be no misunderstanding, may I ask if any of your efforts have been directed toward anything except securing to these people the right of self-determination, and the right to have a free government just like the Government of the United States?" The President said, "What I will say to you is this: That you know the lines that we were discussing."

Mr. Walsh said, "Mr. President, the Irish people believe in these principles that you laid down, and believe that they come wholly within the description of a people whose people have determined their own rights with reference to their government. And I want to call your attention to this fact: That no mediations or negotiations or intercourse with the representatives of Great Britain can possibly accomplish anything at this time. We do not desire to have any, and so far as we are concerned we do not desire anyone else to have any for us. The attitude of the English Government is this: By force of arms, by an army of occupation in Ireland, it is assuming to legislate for Ireland. It can do anything to Ireland or for Ireland that its might gives it the power to do. So that if England has anything that it thinks is good for the Irish people it has the power to impose it at once. In addition to this the Irish people have a right to say, 'We will die before we will live under any such law.' So that no discussion or mediation or negotiation that you or anybody else would have with the representatives of the English Government could do anything for Ireland. Mr. President, you mentioned having your attention called to a resolution of the Senate of the United States requesting safe conducts for Messrs. de Valera, Griffith, and Plunkett." The President said, "Yes; you saw that." Mr. Walsh said, "Yes; but I only saw the newspaper text of it; we wired for the text and did not get it." "Well," the President said, "I saw that; we have been advised of it." Mr. Walsh said, "Mr. President, what action do you propose to take on the request of the Senate?" The President replied, "That is a matter that has not yet been taken up by our full conference."

Mr. Walsh said, "Now, then, we should direct our efforts, as I understand it, to the other representatives on the committee of four and see whether or not we are going to get this hearing, inasmuch as it is to be unanimous?" Gov. Dunne interjected at this point and said, "That would include calling upon Mr. Lloyd-George?" Mr. Walsh said, "Not necessarily." To the President Mr. Walsh said, "If we are not allowed to meet you, how would you suggest that this or any similar matter could get

before your Committee of Four?" "Well," said the President, "I know of no way except to take it up with them individually."

Mr. Walsh said to the President, "Mr. President, when you uttered those words declaring that all nations had a right to self-determination; that it was an issue that had to be settled and once for all, and settled on the side of justice—those expressions I have read to you—you voiced the aspirations of countless millions of people that had been saying them to each other, and begging governments that oppressed them to recognize them. When you, as the head of the most powerful nation in the world, uttered them, and they received the assent of the representatives of all the nations, it became a fact, Mr. President. These people are imbued with the principle. They may be killed trying to vindicate it, but they can no longer be kept in subjection by the action of diplomats, government officials, or even governments. They are free now." The President said: "You have touched on the great metaphysical tragedy of to-day. My words have raised hope in the hearts of millions of people. It is my wish that they have that; but could you imagine that you could revolutionize the world at once, could you imagine that those peoples could come into that at once?" Mr. Walsh replied, "I can imagine them, if anyone denied it, struggling to come into it at once, if it were denied in the place where they expected they were to have it come and to have it settled definitely once and for all."

The President said, "When I gave utterance to those words, I said them without the knowledge that nationalities existed, which are coming to us day after day. Of course, Ireland's case, from the point of view of population, from the point of view of the struggle it has made, from the point of interest that it has excited in the world, and especially among our own people, whom I am anxious to serve, is the outstanding case of a small nationality. You do not know and can not appreciate the anxieties that I have experienced as the result of these many millions of people having their hopes raised by what I have said. For instance, time after time I raise a question here in accordance with these principles, and I am met with the statement that Great Britain or France or some of the other countries have entered into a solemn treaty obligation. I tell them but it was not in accord with justice and humanity; and then they tell me that the breaking of treaties is what has brought on the greater part of the wars that have been waged in the world. No one knows the feelings that are inside of me while I am meeting with these people and discussing these things, and as these things that have been said here go over and over in my mind I feel it most profoundly. It distresses me. But I believe, as you gentlemen do, in Divine Providence, and I am in His hands, and I don't care what happens me individually. I believe these things and I know that countless millions of other people believe them."

Gov. Dunne said: "Mr. President, do you know that the addresses made by us in Ireland, which you say have given offense to the British authorities, were along these lines: That we had enjoyed the blessings of a republican form of government in America for many years, and that we had grown great and prosperous as a republic; that we were pleased to note that they had in a fairly held election determined that they desired a republican form of government, and that we congratulated them upon their choice and hoped that their aspirations would be consummated, the very same sentiments that we had always held and thought in America, and to which the people of Ireland had responded?"

The President replied, "Yes, Gov. Dunne, but suppose that during our war of the rebellion an Englishman had declared that the South had a right to secede, or sided with the South, nobody would have criticized him for that; but suppose that he had gone into the South while the rebellion was going on or immediately before the rebellion, would not our Government have said that he was fomenting the rebellion?"

Gov. Dunne said: "There is no parallel here. Here is a people who, after the armistice, held an election under the forms and securities of British law, and declared for a republic, and I don't believe the cases are in any way similar."

Mr. Walsh then interjected: "If you are drawing that comparison between the Southern States attempting the exercise of that called 'the right of secession' and the case of Ireland, I am compelled to say, I do not see the parallel. Would you please state in what way the cases are similar?"

Mr. Walsh continued: "Of course, Ireland has a separate nationality; it is a nation that has always asserted its nationhood except when repressed by overwhelming force," and then asked the President where the parallel was. The President replied that he did not say it was a parallel case.

Toward the close of the interview the President said: "I wish that you would bear in mind that I came here with very high hopes of carrying out the principles as they were laid down. I did not succeed in getting all I came after. I should say—I should say that there was a great deal—no, I will put it this way—there were a lot of things that I hoped for but did not get."

Mr. WALSH. Now, when we went over there we expected to meet this situation: The President had said this fight was for the right of small nations to control their own lives and to govern themselves. He said that the issue was not made by men or women, but was made by events; that this principle was to apply to those whom we did not like as well as to those whom we did like; that there was to be a peace conference at the end of the war and that that conference was to be composed not of diplomats, as such conferences had been before, not of statesmen, not of governments, but of peoples through their representatives; and so these people, meeting in race convention, a homogenous people with their boundaries fixed by God himself, by the sea, a people who had retained their culture through the centuries, a people who had maintained their social institutions in spite of all sorts of repression of armies of occupation, aye, may I say, a people who shed their most precious blood at least once every generation in an attempt to repel the invader who was occupying their country—these people met in race convention and sent us as their representatives to the peace conference, and we believed that when we got there we would find a conference of delegates. These people had held a plebescite in December under the forms of English law, under every disadvantage so far as they were concerned, and by an overwhelming majority had agreed to come under these principles for which so many of our soldiers died. When they did it they separated from England. They refused to go to Westminster.

They set up their own congress, and I want to say to you gentlemen, because I speak here as an American of America, that I give the American thought when I say as an American of Irish blood that if the great test was put between America and any other nation upon this earth, including the one for which we have so deep a sentimental attachment, that we would see Ireland go to the fathomless depths of the sea and disappear as compared to our own country, but I want to say to you that when these men separated from England, when this Irish people separated from England, they separated forever. [Applause.] They have a volunteer army of 200,000 trained men, not well equipped, of course, but none will say in this presence that they will not go out with their rude weapons and fight to the death, because men are doing it in India, where women and children are being bombed. They are doing it in Egypt, where villages are being ravaged and people are being killed on the street. They are doing it in 20 different countries among 20 different groups at the very time that peace was signed. So we believed that under the declaration of the President of the United States, when we would present our case, we would show that Ireland came strictly within the definition which he gave and that automatically Ireland would have the right to self-determination. But we found no such body in Paris. We found that 70 men or more had assembled there; that immediately upon assembling they had abrogated all their rights.

They were like the minority stockholders in a corporation that appointed a board of directors, and they appointed a board of directors of 10. The main body had met only four times in session up to the time we left Paris. They appointed a board of directors of 10. That board of directors appointed a committee of four. One of them was found to have no influence and was set aside, so they got down to a committee of three. We found that there was no small

nation given a hearing before that board. We found that there was no abstract right contended for by any small nation laid down as the principle of action by that committee of three. And from now on for the purposes of this argument we will call them the Big Three instead of the Big Four.

Senator JOHNSON of California. Were you present over there, Mr. Walsh?

Mr. WALSH. Mr. Senator, I hung around the Hotel Crillon until I wore out several pairs of shoes.

Senator JOHNSON of California. I want the record to show that you are speaking from personal knowledge.

Mr. WALSH. I am speaking from personal knowledge, and I am putting so much "I" in this case that I do not know whether I am a witness or an advocate or what I am here; but I was there, and the record shows at least the part that I took.

Senator BRANDEGEE. Will you be kind enough to let me ask you a question?

Mr. WALSH. Yes, indeed, Senator.

Senator BRANDEGEE. Of how many people did this board of directors, as you call it, consist at the time you were corresponding with them with a view of getting the case of Ireland laid before the peace conference?

Mr. WALSH. There were 10 of the board of directors, but it had vanished down to 3. I am just giving my view of it, of course, as I looked at it at first hand, in a sort of a way. We were Kansas City and Chicago diplomats, not Parisian diplomats. We had to take it as we glanced at it, and we found that committee of three. Of course, Japan could have sat in there, but it was the joke of Paris, "What are the Japs going to do?" The other members were wishing to the Almighty that they would do something besides just sit there and blink; but England had winked at Japan, of course. Japan went in there under that broad plan, the equality of Nations, the equal recognition of all nationals; but Japan already had her secret treaty, she already had her understanding. She did not need to be there. What she wanted was to maintain her grasp on Korea and to get Shantung. Of course she dropped out. She was well attended to.

Now, instead of dealing with small nations over there they dealt with reparations, they dealt with indemnities, they divided up territories, they created new nationalities, some of them, I understand, by mistake. They drew lines and sometimes did not know what country some of these nationals were put into. Around that place were all of these peoples trying to get a voice. I believe that had we had a little more practical statesmanship we might have organized the small nations of the world on the principles of the 14 points and started out and won it for the world. I really do [applause]; because the Lithuanians were there, the Arabians were there, the Chinese were there, the Esthonians were there, the Georgia republicans were there, the East Indians were there, and all the others were there. They called at the headquarters of the American commission, to find out from us what was the reason why the 14 points were not being applied. So after they finished this work as far as it could be finished—the departure of the President of the United States put an end to it—we applied to the "Big Three." I am not going into our

correspondence, but I will say this, that they said that unofficially they loved us, but officially they were ready to jump out of the window when we came in. I do not know what they were afraid of. Surely they were not afraid of England. Let them look at Ireland. Nine hundred soldiers held off 40,000 for over a week. Let them look back to the history of our own country that fought so well against unequal odds. Surely it was not fear. But as I say, unofficially they loved us, but officially, I am sorry to say, I do not believe they liked to see us come into the Crillon Hotel.

In the interviews which we are now to submit under the request of this committee we will give the interviews that we had with all these gentlemen. Our correspondence will show—I want to speak plainly—how they dodged us. It would have been, I may say, more agreeable to us and would have called for our admiration to a greater extent if they had just said, “We don’t want to have anything to do with you”; but they did not do that. They recognized us just as far as they could unofficially, and we claim, of course, officially. So when the thing broke up——

Senator BORAH. Mr. Walsh, I suppose there must have been some one, aside from the American delegation, that was objecting to your being heard, was there not?

Mr. WALSH. Oh, yes; let me tell you. Let me say this, Senator Borah, as it will appear here, that we were prevented from being heard by the representative of George V directly, for this reason, because now as I study this covenant of the league I see many angles that I did not see before, and I recall that when that committee of four went into session to settle the fate of the whole world they agreed that they would not hear anyone except by unanimous consent, and we were the people—that is, the representatives of the Irish race; when I say “we” I mean the representatives of these other races—that had the great concern.

Now, when that committee adjourned by the departure of the President, we for the first time got the league of nations. I say here now, and I want to put it in this record, that that league of nations was never assented to, even by the ones who signed it, in the sense that we understand it. Anyone who was present at the Quay d’Orsai when the covenant of the league of nations was so splendidly and dramatically read by our President, and has seen them jumping up all over the room, wanting to say a word—you could not tell who they were—but Clemenceau, the lion of France, blandly said, “There being no objection, the covenant of the league is agreed to.” We used to have what we called mob primaries out in Missouri, and I guess some of you gentlemen had them, where the chair would recognize only one man to appoint a committee of 10 to bring in a list of delegates to attend the convention, and the committee of 10 always returned with a list containing their own names, and then the meeting adjourned. [Laughter.]

Senator BRANDEGEE. You speak of these interviews you had. Did you have a stenographer with you?

Mr. WALSH. No; we did not have a stenographer, but the minute we came away, every time, we dictated to a stenographer what had occurred in the conference; and in the last one, the one with the President, I had a gentleman present who, of course, could be a

witness, and there were two of us, Gov. Dunne and myself, and we immediately dictated it, and I do not believe that there will be any dispute about the facts. If so we would like to appear before this committee again, and perhaps point out logically other things that coincide exactly with what was said in that interview.

Now, as I say, I was for a league of nations such as I have tried to set out here, but I was willing to take a bad league of nations. I was willing to take one that was not a good league of nations. I had gotten the French thought—the thought of France—that this is a rotten covenant for a league of nations; but it is not possible to start unless you have some sort of a league, and you can not have a robust and a good league by strangling it to death in infancy. I had a good deal of that thought. I studied that league covenant coming back on the boat, and having studied that league covenant I say, so far as my limited capacity goes and my ability to understand it, it is not a league of nations to prevent war, but it is a league of nations to foment war; it is a league of nations to put the shackles of injustice on almost half the people of the world; to embroil us in wars and in contests such as our country has never known before.

In order to be plain—it is with regret that I will send my resignation to the League to Enforce Peace coincidentally with the little effort I am making to-day—I hate to say it, but I say that that whole covenant of the league is so shot through with injustice, that the subtle European minds have so covertly and successfully planted their ideals in it in contradiction to the ideals of the American people, that no interpretation and no amendment can make it an honest document. [Applause.]

Now, if I may be indulged for a moment, about this league, we have a certain concept. We have been reproached for being a material people. Over there I saw a cartoon that hurt my feelings, portraying America something like Davenport's cartoons used to do; with dollar marks all over Uncle Sam's clothes. We have been criticized for being chasers of the almighty dollar and for not having the high spirit that ought to animate people.

Senator KNOX. That cartoon represented the dollars they wanted.

Mr. WALSH. It represented the dollars they wanted; very good. But that criticism, as I say, is being made, Mr. Senator. Now we have certain ideals. This Government was founded upon them. We believe that they have not only been good for us, but they have been good for the world. The great contribution that President Wilson made to this war was in his declaration upon going into the war, in the addresses that he made to you gentlemen at different times, and in public; because, as I had the privilege of telling him, when he made those declarations of the right of every man and woman to control their own life destinies, he said what was in the hearts and in the brains of countless millions of people—all of them, practically, except the men who held mastery. He declared principles for which thousands have died what might otherwise have been ignominious deaths upon the scaffold, for which countless millions have served time in jails and penitentiaries; and are doing it, I may add, in Ireland to-day; and when

he did it, he gave utterance to the idea that set the world free. By your action in the Senate of the United States you may cause the butchery of many more thousands, but that ideal will live. The people of the world have been made free, and they have been made free by us; and if our temporary servants—or representatives, to be more polite, because we have no rulers—forget those principles, then by the strength of our intellects and by the power given by the Constitution of the United States we will get new servants and other representatives who will carry those principles to their final consummation. [Applause.]

I will only try to urge the fundamentals of this plan.

Senator FALL. Mr. Chairman, I move that the time of the hearing be extended indefinitely, until it is concluded.

Senator NEW. I second that motion.

Senator FALL. It is the first chance that the American people have had for a hearing anywhere, as I understand, except in the Senate. [Applause.]

Mr. WALSH. I do not like to take the time.

Senator FALL. Go on.

Senator MOSES. Let us have the question, Mr. Chairman.

Senator BORAH. We have got 25 days.

Mr. WALSH. I have all the rest of my life.

Senator Johnson of California. And so have the rest of us, too.

Senator MOSES. May we have a vote on this motion, Mr. Chairman?

Senator FALL. I make that motion that the time be extended three hours—extended more, if necessary.

The CHAIRMAN. The motion is that the time be extended three hours.

Senator BRANDEGEE. Before we vote on that let me ask——

The CHAIRMAN. I want to say to the committee that we arranged to hear the Greeks to-day and to give them an hour, and as they have come here from a long distance, I feel bound to give them that hearing.

Senator FALL. The three hours additional need not necessarily be consecutive. They may take their hour and then we may continue this hearing, which is very interesting to me.

The CHAIRMAN. Certainly. There is no need of a motion for that.

Senator BRANDEGEE. I simply wanted to ask Judge Cohalan if he wanted three hours more.

Judge COHALAN. We would like it very much. Mr. Ryan gave way, and he has first-hand information. Gov. Dunne gave way. We would like very much to give them an opportunity to be heard.

The CHAIRMAN. We can hear the Greeks this afternoon, but of course it would involve a break in your hearing. We can take it up later.

Mr. WALSH. I am going to close as quickly as I possibly can. There are a few things I would like to say yet.

The CHAIRMAN. Take your time, Mr. Walsh. The committee are ready to hear you. [Applause.]

Senator FALL. Mr. Chairman, had we not better settle this by voting on my motion for three hours' additional hearing? Then we can take a recess and hear the Greeks later.

The CHAIRMAN. Certainly. I think we can give them all the time they want.

Senator FALL. I will move to extend the time again, if they have not completed.

The CHAIRMAN. The committee can arrange that. We have other hearings, and of course we must maintain our engagements.

Senator JOHNSON of California. We can run these hearings into next week.

Senator BORAH. We can go ahead, and if nobody calls time on them, they will not need to stop.

Senator FALL. Nobody will call time on them.

The CHAIRMAN. I will try and make an arrangement with the Greeks for their hearing in the meantime.

Mr. WALSH. I will try as well as I can to address myself to what I call the fundamentals of this proposed covenant of the league of nations, to give you if I can what is in my mind and what is in my conscience, because I will say again what I feel impelled to say, that this whole covenant of the league of nations is a perversion of what the men who really favored a league of nations intended and wished for.

Senator HARDING. Before you get away from it, I would like to have you emphasize and give us a little more light on one thing: You expressed the surprise of the assembled commissioners over the league when it was presented.

Mr. WALSH. Yes.

Senator HARDING. Was that marked?

Mr. WALSH. Oh, it was very marked. They jumped up all over the place to make protests. Man after man got up. You know there was an awful censorship upon this whole business. We followed the publicity very closely, on account of our own little embassy over there. It was impossible at that time to get anything about Ireland in a French paper. I am very happy to say that since the Persian matter and since the developments at the White House conference and other places a very distinctly different reaction is going on in Paris. Our cable advisers tell us that the most reactionary papers in Paris are in favor of the absolute independence of Ireland, and think that Ireland was badly treated at the peace conference, and looked to this Senate not to give any advice and never to consent to the covenant of the league of nations as it is at present.

Senator BRANDEGEE. Will you allow me to ask you a question?

Mr. WALSH. Yes.

Senator BRANDEGEE. At the time this covenant was accepted by the plenary conference was there any attempt to elucidate its provisions, to explain the various provisions in it, or any debate upon it, other than the formal set speeches of the heads of the nations which presented it to the conference?

Mr. WALSH. Not a particle. It had been presented before, and there were some objections made to certain parts of it, and it went back, and this meeting was called, and I talked to one of the most powerful members of the conference outside of the Big Four. He is a lawyer of very fine ability. As we are going in to have everything open, I will say that it was Judge Doherty, of Canada, representing the Dominion of Canada, and the night before he did not know what was in it.

Senator MOSES. He was one of the signatories to the treaty, was he not?

Mr. WALSH. He was a signatory to the treaty.

Senator BRANDEGEE. I would like to have you or some other gentleman who speaks for your side of the question state why this covenant can not by amendment be made satisfactory. I understand you to say that it is such a dishonest document that it can not be made honest by amendment.

Mr. WALSH. Yes; I say that. I do not mean personal dishonesty.

Senator BRANDEGEE. I understand that.

Mr. WALSH. I mean intellectually dishonest.

Senator BRANDEGEE. Such an undesirable thing for the United States to agree to.

Mr. WALSH. Yes.

Senator BRANDEGEE. I want either you or some other gentleman who addresses us to explain, in view of article 26, which provides that amendments to this covenant shall take effect when ratified by the members of the league whose representatives compose the council, and by a majority of the members of the league whose representatives compose the assembly, why under that article it can not be amended satisfactorily. I ask you that question in view of the fact that one of the strongest arguments contained in the letters which I receive in favor of the covenant is that, although the covenant has its imperfections, no human document can be expected to be perfect when it originates, that the Constitution of the United States was not perfect, and that it was afterwards amended very quickly, and that therefore this league covenant can be amended satisfactorily if we will only go into it. I want you to give your reasons why you say it can not.

Mr. WALSH. Very good; I will try to answer that, Senator. First, I look upon this document in this way: It is either a thoroughgoing fraud from beginning to end, to which a respectable nation should not give its assent; it is either something gotten up intentionally and deliberately to deceive, or else it has either the direct power or the potential power to enforce every idea in it. That is my opinion of this document.

I believe, if we surrender to this proposed covenant of the league of nations, that in the very essentials of its structure, we can never escape.

I begin by my opposition to article 10, and, as I suggested, not limiting it as far as Ireland is concerned, but that it should apply to any country that had the fate of the people in its hands, and had determined the form of government under which it should live and which government was oppressed by an army of occupation. I think it could be amended. But as you go through this, as has been said, 11 is just as bad as 10, and 12 is just as bad as 11, and you go a little further and you will find that 13 is as bad as 11, because if a dispute arose, and believe me, gentlemen, a dispute is going to arise about Ireland mighty quickly, and a dispute is going to arise about other matters as far as France is concerned, and if this committee has the power—and this committee has the power if it is a fair document and not a false document—it has the authority to lay down the procedure from which we can never escape. And I took section 40

of the annex, because my first criticism was answered by a gentleman very high in authority who said that this vote had to be unanimous, the vote of the assembly, but I found under section 40 of the annex that a majority vote, a bare majority of the council, carries any proposition with it. And when it comes to arbitrament of these nations, they know exactly what they want under this treaty, and will never agree to arbitration, and it goes to this council stacked in advance. I want to speak plainly—why? Because they have secret agreements entered into and signed by the representatives of the United States dividing territory, and unless the chairman has received them since I heard the argument on the case of Egypt the other day, they are still undisclosed to the separate branch of the treaty-making power, the Senate of the United States, and certainly not to our knowledge.

The CHAIRMAN. Most things connected with this treaty are undisclosed.

Mr. WALSH. I would say now, if we are doing it all open, as soon as you get the agreement mentioned by Senator Fall, that you send it to us so that we may find out if Ireland is in it.

Senator BORAH. You were speaking about article 40?

Mr. WALSH. Article 40 of the annex.

Senator BRANDEGEE. You have not the committee print?

Mr. WALSH. I think I can find it.

Senator BRANDEGEE. Did you mean a majority of the council or of the assembly.

Mr. WALSH. A majority vote of the council decides the whole thing.

Senator BRANDEGEE. I wish you would read that provision.

Mr. WALSH. All right. I think I can find it. It is in the annex. It is chapter 3, article 40.

Senator MOSES. That relates to the Saar Valley.

The CHAIRMAN. Top of page 93, article 40, section 4.

Senator SWANSON. That relates to the Saar Basin, section 4.

Mr. WALSH. I think not, as I read it. Let us consider it, because I tried to weigh it with great care, and I weighed this with reference to what this council might interpret it to mean. Now, the league contains a great many of the ideals expressed by the President, but still I will say that an analysis of that will show that in some place there is something that points out that this is not a covenant that is going to bring peace to the world.

I get this from the Congressional Record. We have the covenant and then we have the annex.

Senator BRANDEGEE. Just give the page and the date of the Record.

Mr. WALSH. Page 2479 of the Congressional Record of Thursday, July 10, 1919. That was my first notion when I first read it, that it referred to the Saar Valley, but I do not believe that it does.

Senator BRANDEGEE. I want you to put it in the record of the hearing of this committee.

Mr. WALSH. I am going to put it in the record, and then try to give you what follows, that makes me say that the interpretation of this can be made to show that it refers to the whole annex.

Senator BRANDEGEE. Take your time and find it.

Senator BORAH. I suggest that the gentleman proceed and that when he has time to look this up he can add it to his remarks.

Mr. WALSH. Yes.

Senator MOSES. In other words, he will present a brief on it?

Senator BORAH. No; he can present his remarks. We will stay here until he gets through.

Mr. WALSH. Yes; I will find the clause in there, if that refers to the whole annex, and I think it does.

Senator SWANSON. If you will look at page 67 of the annex, it is named "Annex." Then it concludes.

On page 93, here is the way section 40 reads [reading]:

In all matters dealt with in the present annex the decision of the council of the league of nations will be taken by a majority.

On page 67, if you will read through—it is named "Annex"—it shows that all that in the annex is limited to a majority.

Mr. WALSH. I did not so get it out of the Congressional Record. I will try to come back to it. I took this Congressional Record in my analysis and that is my conclusion. I will come back to that.

Now, then, to begin with, fundamentally I say that the setting up of this assembly and council absolutely pushes us away not only from the ideas of our government, but surrenders us in this way to the conception of monarchy as opposed to a republican form of government.

We were present, as I say, in Paris. We were there at the time when all of the experts were resigning. We were there at the time when all of Paris understood that the ideals for which we entered the war had been circumvented. We were there and heard the secret treaties discussed. We were there and heard not only the facts, but the intelligent men and women from many of the struggling nationalities, and all of them drawing the point of departure from democracy to autocracy or monarchy just as I am going to try to draw it here.

We start with this council, which consists of the representative of the American Republic, the minister of the King of England, the minister of the King of Italy, the minister of the Emperor of Japan, the minister of the King of Belgium, the minister of the King of Spain, the minister of the King of the Hellenes, and the representative of the Republic of France, essentially different in form, of course, from our own, and the representative from the Republic of Brazil. So we started out with a monarchical institution essentially to pass upon all questions the council of the proposed league of nations has the right to pass upon.

We find as we look through this treaty, first, that the nations are not disarmed. We find that we are entering into obligations ourselves to increase our armament. We find that we are under a practical obligation to increase our armament fivefold. We find that under the authority—and I am speaking of it now as absolute authority—that this is a virile living thing that is intended to effectuate its purpose, with all the influence and power that can be put behind it by all of the powerful nations of the earth, and it is that sort of institution.

Senator HARDING. You have noted that the President has said that we really have no obligation except to pass upon the orders of the council in accordance with the conception of justice.

Mr. WALSH. I have followed that, and in my slight study of metaphysics, it is too deep for me. I read it over and over again and tried to put it in the blunt way I have by saying that this is a document of liberty and power or it is an essential fraud; that if we admit there is such a thing as international law, under international law it must have all the force that any other agreement has between nations, or it has not any at all. That is my conception of it, and I give it for what it is worth.

Now as long as we are a powerful nation and as long as the signatories with us have work to do for their kind of an imperialistic character in the world, so long will they carry America along with them. If we furnish the men, if we furnish the treasurer, if we spill the blood—and it must be done at once, as I will try to show before I leave my remarks—then we go along with our fellow imperialists and we are full imperialist criminals with them. But if our one man on that league of nations decides that we will not go on, then it will be found that we did not need this large army, that we will drop under a pledge that we have made to allow the council to set the quantity of disarmament or armament that may be had. We will then drop down into a small armed country. Why? Because it is not necessary to police our country. Why? Because if we refuse as a matter of fact to join with them in their imperialistic aggressions, and they have the power under it to allow Germany—we conjure hatred with that name of old, and so I mention it—if we admit Germany afterwards into the league, then England could right away have a standing army or navy to conquer any country that they desired to keep under subjection or to place under subjection, while we would have a small army if they disarmed us on land and disarmed us on sea, and we might have a navy half as large as England's, and she could have a navy twice as large as she has at the present time.

And so I might go through this document. I will be glad to do it. It can be done. But I know you gentlemen have done it.

I would do it if I had the power, which I doubt.

If this is not a covenant for a league of nations, what is it? Can there be any dispute about it? It is a so-called covenant of a league of nations proclaimed to the world, and honestly by its advocate—by its only advocate, who I believe has followed this thing through, because there is a propaganda going on in this country such as there never has been before. On Broadway, New York, I heard a Government official connected with the Educational Department in Washington. May I without offense to the gentleman say that he has never read this league of nations covenant. But he had a crowd around him and was speaking for it to the people of the United States. I saw another man speaking for it and asking his organization to indorse. I know this gentleman has not read it.

It is called a covenant of the league of nations. It is a catch-word. It first caught my consciousness. It is a catch word, and that will bring behind it those who abhor war and those who believe that some start ought to be made with a league of nations. But the truth ought to be written that it is a league to effectuate and maintain permanently the divisions of territory, and the seizing of the lives of men and women as contained in secret treaties about which the President of the United States knew nothing when he

made these utterances, about which he knew nothing when he went to Paris, and about which we knew nothing, and for the upholding and maintaining of the principles of which 300,000 of our men were killed, gassed, and wounded in foreign lands, which can not be denied here. I have read the questions asked by Senators Borah and Johnson. It is in the minds of all of you that when that Big Three sat, there were three dominating thoughts. One was a man of ideals, of honest ideals. I say that I believe that if our President could have come back to this country with every one of them put in force, his heart's greatest desire would have been met. I believe that. But when he got there, as he expressed it, he had in mind all of the principles for which we had gone to war, an end of secret diplomacy, an end of back-door intrigue, an end of the power of one man to get into a squabble with another and call to arms millions of people, the young manhood of the country that he happens to represent, that there was to be an end to this thing of dividing territory regardless of the wishes of the people, that always and ever the rights of nationalities were to be considered, that always and ever no man hereafter should have a government imposed upon him that his conscience did not approve of, but he found that secret treaties had been made absolutely abrogating every one of his 14 points. What became of the freedom of the seas?

The recognition, if you give it, and I trust in God you will not, to England's protectorate over Egypt means that England takes Turkey's right to the Suez Canal; means, if I conjure the thought correctly, that it gives England a grip on every quart of salt water in the world; this country, attempting to enforce ideals, laying down what is contained in some parts of the present proposed league of peace, the present covenant. On the other hand, what do we have? I must state it plainly. I do not believe from my observation that the French people as a people have imperialistic aims. You can not get the thought or the reaction I believe that would convince you of that. At any rate, I believe that so intent were they particularly upon getting reparation for the devastation of their country, so anxious were they to have guaranties for their future protection, and so insistent was this demand, that it became, as the President said, a state of mind, and nothing else so far as France was concerned could be considered; and so all the press of France sounded that one note; and so everything was censored that might have anything to do with the enforcement of our ideals as expressed in the messages to Congress, in the writings and speeches of the President.

On the other hand was the representative of the King of Great Britain, Mr. Lloyd-George. He held his eyes to high heaven and said that England had no imperialistic aim in the war; that they did not propose to gain 1 yard of territory. And when they were urging us into the war, you remember how he denounced—how Mr. Asquith denounced—what they called the lie of the enemy, that they had any desire for any territorial aggrandizement. But Mr. Lloyd-George was there, and there for that purpose alone. He emerged with his mandatories or with his protectorates or whatever you call them; and I point to them and I point to Egypt and I point

to Ireland, and I say, whatever they call them, they are always the same—and I say that at the very foundation of it, it is the desire and the purpose to economically subject the people of those countries; to keep them in practical slavery—the producing masses of those countries. The people who produce the cotton in Egypt are not allowed to manufacture the goods into textiles in their own country, but are compelled to send the raw material to England. If England did not get that economic advantage, as they have in Ireland and as they have in every country into which they have gone, she would have no concern in going in there.

I have no hatred of England. I am proud of her achievements where they have been good. But I say in the very genesis of the imperialist idea is corruption, the very thought of holding their people for economic advantage is, governmentally and internationally, if you enter into it, dishonesty.

Now, then, she emerged with an added control over something like 33,000,000 people, with an area in land, and valuable land, gold mines, diamond mines, the richest agricultural land existing in the world, in her own bag. Did she do it honestly and fairly? Can any league be a good league that has this honestly as its genesis? Was it fair, I ask—was it fair, gentlemen of this committee, let me ask—to take the lives of our 300,000 men or to cripple them; was it right to accept our aid under the declaration we made; was it right to accept our aid after Lloyd-George and Asquith had declared that they wanted no more territory, when they absolutely had the obligation so far as it could be international to hold that territory, and when they had in their minds that they would do exactly what they did do with the representative of the United States—that instead of following out the principles for which we entered the war they would get an agreement including among its signatories our powerful country, with its great resources, to effectuate and to keep forever what they had already gotten, a territory five times larger than the thirteen original States of the United States? As I say, I do not care what they call it, a mandatory or what not; they have it, and by force of arms and by the help what they think we can give them, they are going to keep it.

I would like at this point to try to direct a few observations, that may again be an answer to what Senator Brandegee asked, as to the constitution, the constituent elements, of this league of nations, and the way it is being gotten up. Some place in the world there is a committee of seven men. I do not know whether there is a democrat upon it—I mean democrat in its wide sense. I do not know whether there is a man on it that believes in the representative form of government. Has this committee been given a name—a committee to organize a league of nations? Very well, some place there is a committee sitting in the world. It may consist——

Senator JOHNSON. Did anybody on this committee know that that authority had been given?

Mr. WALSH. I think Senator Fall knew it.

Senator FALL. I knew it.

The CHAIRMAN. When I shook my head, I meant that I did not know the names. We know some of the people on it by reference to the newspapers.

Mr. WALSH. I have observed them. They all have been published.
The CHAIRMAN. Not to my knowledge.

Mr. WALSH. Some place sitting in the world there is a committee whose personnel is unknown in toto to the chairman of the Foreign Relations Committee. That committee has this important duty, if you do not know——

Senator FALL. Among its other duties, it has to control the agenda.

Mr. WALSH. They not only put down the primary organization, but they named the agenda for the first meeting.

The CHAIRMAN. And they also arranged the personnel and the officers of the league.

Mr. WALSH. They have gone even further than that, anticipating that the Senate would not perform its duty under the Constitution and advise against this if they thought that it was wrong. You will refuse to give your consent to it if you believe as I do about it. Anticipating that, Sir Eric Drummond was appointed first secretary general.

I want to say to you gentlemen who, I know, have had large experience in constituting boards and bodies, that a general secretary with the power that Sir Eric Drummond has, will have more influence upon the conduct of that board than will a majority of the members. I say that because he has the ability to and he will make the suggestions as to the agendum. He is the one who will receive the protests of people who claim they are being subjected or repressed. He is the one at first hand who passes primarily upon every act that that committee will be called upon to perform. So I say, knowing the little that I do about constituting boards, and in cases where they are brought from different parts of our own country, that a general secretary of a board composed of different-speaking people from all over the world is the man who will control that body, practically, if not absolutely.

At the present time there are peoples subject to restrictions in all of the countries of the world. As I heard detailed to you the other day, the officers of the Government of Egypt have the right, so far as I can see, to be diplomatically represented in this or any other nation on earth. They showed me their papers, and they came from their own State Department, and they did not need to be viséed by Great Britain. They came to Paris. They were shocked when they came there to find that two days before they arrived the President of the United States had given out an interview in which he recognized the protectorate of England over Egypt, and adjured the people of Egypt not to commit any violence or do anything that would cause pain and suffering to the inhabitants. And these men, precluded from any effort to get into the conference, spent the balance of their time attempting to see the President of the United States, and before he left he advised Saad Pasha Zaghloul that it would be impossible on account of lack of time to see him. This covenant is set up under the direction of Sir Eric Drummond in the United States. How is Saad Pasha Zaghloul to come in? How is he to get in the building when he could not get in the country?

A BYSTANDER. How did the Irish get in?

Mr. WALSH. Because the Irish people had the spirit, because those Irishmen knew the genius of our country, knew that no mere prohibitory law with reference to criminals could keep a man out of

there who was making a fight for liberty. That is how de Valera got in. That is the spirit that brought him in. The people of Ireland have representatives. They have sent their envoys, sent by the regular government of Ireland, to Paris. They have to go there on some specious plea or on disregard for some restrictive statute or ordinance or regulation. The Egyptians are a great people. There are many millions of people there crying out against the dominion which they despise, in order to come into the league of nations. How did they get into the building? The answer is how did they get into the country? I have said, and I say again, that there should be no pretense that we are going to hear anyone or that we are going to have any part in European affairs if the right of every decent man to come and go freely across the earth's surface is not accorded to him, holding him strictly amenable to the laws of every country in which he may be, whether those laws are to his liking, good or bad. But we can not talk about having an international body where we have restrictive laws that would keep the men that are trying to get a voice for their people from freely attending the place where the conference is to be held.

Mr. Chairman, and Senators, this question, of course, to my mind, is not an Irish question. I want to say to you that the people of Ireland are better acquainted with our laws and our customs and the interpretation of our constitution than any other people on earth, and I say that without boasting, and they are convinced that this league of nations would not only not furnish them any help, but would be absolutely destructive to their efforts for independence, and that they would not get their independence at all until the next war between half and half of the world was settled and democracy finally triumphs. That is the answer to the question.

What did we find there? We went through Ireland; we visited it. They have separated from England. They have set up a government of their own. There is an English censorship that does not allow news to get out. We got there, and what happened in Ireland? We have it in that blue book, Gov. Dunne and myself. It can be backed up by a wealth of evidence that will make every assertion so clear that even Mr. McPherson, the chief secretary for Ireland, could not deny it. We challenged them to appoint a committee of their own to investigate conditions in Ireland. Why? Not that we would embroil the United States in any contest that Ireland is having, but in order that you may do nothing that will make the chains stronger upon Ireland.

Senator BRANDEGEE. Did you read the speech that Senator Walsh, of Montana, made in the Senate the other day, in which he claimed that the only hope for the Irish cause was in the league of nations.

Mr. WALSH. I did not have the pleasure of reading that. There is so much being published now that I can not read it all, but I say this: I respectfully differ from the conclusions arrived at by Senator Walsh. As I say, I just came from Ireland. Those are intelligent people over there. We have referred to the small nations, and I say that it warms my American heart to see the way those people clamored around our headquarters. It was a sort of headquarters for the oppressed people of the earth. They have an idea that the President's 14 points are absolutely in the hearts of our people. They

have an idea, and have it very strongly, that in some way there is some power that is never going to allow this division of territory to be made. So we met these people; some of them splendid people. They are called backward and subject peoples, and small, and all those diminutive names. We found a state of war going on in Ireland. They have a volunteer army of 200,000. They have their officers. They drill daily, practically all of them are mobilized, and they have their maneuvers. The effort to repress them is an effort of force. We ought to understand this thing and look at it plainly. We heard about the so-called murders, and I shall try to classify them. Reference has been made to the constables. They are not constables such as we know. They are members of a standing army. They carry rifles, and they drill with rifles. They have machine guns. They live in barracks as soldiers do. They are never residents of the community in which they operate as constables. So they are soldiers. They act under the direct command of the commander in chief of the English army of occupation in Ireland. They took prisoners, the prisoners they took are republican volunteer soldiers and they were taken not as assassins, but in broad daylight, in the large cities of Ireland.

These men met them, and they met them in a way which, if war was declared and it was our country, because of the fight they made against unequal odds, they would be entitled to a medal from the Congress of the United States. They retake the prisoners of the English army. In taking them, if they have to do it, they kill the soldiers of the army of occupation, of course, and the soldiers of the army of occupation try to kill them. Is it a state of war? There is the most crimeless country in the world. There is jail after jail, built to hold a thousand men, with 10 common-law prisoners in them, misdemeanants, or men charged with felony, and hundreds of men charged with nothing but being republicans. Are they criminals? These fights and flurries at arms take place in the large cities in Ireland. The Irish people retake their prisoners and take them away—in one case with 10,000 people looking on. These people are their soldiers and their heroes. They protect them and they fight for them because they say that a battle is going on. The English army is in Ireland to-day with every device of death immediately at command. I saw them build the emplacements upon which the machine guns are now firmly fixed, covering Liberty Hall in Dublin, so as to send a deathly fire into the headquarters of the national labor organization of Ireland. And why? Because I say those men, the most conservative labor organization in the world, going along lines approved of by all men, are likewise republicans, and instead of treating them as citizens they treat them as criminals. Those jails were created. We saw men confined in those jails that would compare with the gentlemen whom I have the honor to address this morning, as lawyers.

We saw newspaper men there, Senator Johnson, who compare most favorably with any that you know in California or with the very best that I have known, who own and edit their own newspapers. We saw men who have devoted a lifetime to doing something for the people whom they represent—members of the Irish Parliament—in solitary confinement. We saw the cells in which

they had been confined. They were taken out of them the night before, we were advised, but we saw the underground cells in which they were kept in solitary confinement, and when we asked the question of the governor of the jail, or made the assertion at Mount Joy, he did not deny it. We heard the story at first hand of the statement of the women, young and old, those whom I met, and from whose lips I heard the story which I would not undertake in this presence to detail because of its loathsomeness. I heard that story from the lips of women as refined, as virtuous, as intellectual as your wife and daughter and mine, and I can pay them no higher compliment; and what I say is going on all through Ireland to-day.

Talk about bolshevists! Property is absolutely unsafe in Ireland. Raids are made on private residences and thousands of dollars' worth of property are being taken, and not even what they call contraband. Every excess that applies to an army engaged especially in an unjust war is being practiced upon the Irish people. Thousands of dollars of ordinary mercantile establishments are taken away. Everything is done to break the spirit of those people. Yet we are asked to show that at a time a commission is undertaking to establish peace they are trying to pass this covenant, intended, as they claim, to prevent war, while a state of war actually exists in Ireland and in other countries, and at this very time they refuse to listen to the Irish people.

We are here to state to you, gentlemen, that if this league in its present form is consented to by the Senate, 200,000 men, according to their own statement—because I speak only by what they say—stand ready to-day before the world to bring America back to the ideals which it has always preserved.

Judge COHALAN. Mr. Chairman and gentlemen, I will now ask Mr. Michael J. Ryan, of Philadelphia, another one of the commissioners, to come forward and tell his experiences in Paris.

STATEMENT OF MR. MICHAEL J. RYAN.

Senator SWANSON. Mr. Ryan, before you begin, I think I should suggest to the other members of the committee that the Sergeant at Arms of the Senate has sent for us to come and make a quorum.

Senator BRANDEGEE. Why, we have the permission of the Senate to sit during the sessions of the Senate.

Senator SWANSON. Well, we can not break up a quorum.

Senator BRANDEGEE. We have permission to sit here.

Senator BORAH. Tell them to adjourn.

The CHAIRMAN. You may proceed, Mr. Ryan.

Mr. RYAN. Mr. Chairman, I have been asked by the chairman of our conference to participate in a departure from our program upon which we agreed this morning. It was then contemplated that Mr. Walsh should speak, and then that the governor of New Hampshire and the lieutenant governor of Montana should be heard, and that the closing argument upon the legal propositions advanced by the committee should be made by Mr. Bourke Cockran, to whom I am sure it will be a delight for all of us to listen. I am asked merely to rise for a moment and give an experience. I understand that some of you have asked that those who visited Paris should make a little statement.

We reached Paris—Mr. Walsh, Gov. Dunne, and myself—on the 12th or 13th of April. We immediately sought an interview with the President of the United States. We joined in a letter which appears as the first communication signed by the three of us, addressed to the President, asking for an interview. We set forth the purpose of our coming, to wit, that safe-conduct should be granted to Eamonn de Valera, the president of the Irish republic, Arthur Griffith, and George Noble, Count Plunkett, to Paris from Dublin, so that they might present the cause of Ireland. We have set it forth on page 2 of the document that is now filed with each of you. Some days afterwards, the President, through his secretary, caused a communication to be sent to Mr. Walsh, asking Mr. Walsh alone to visit him, which he did. We were then referred to Col. House, and our communications during my entire stay in Paris were with Col. House. I left Paris on the 24th of May, and I left when we learned the attitude, as will be discerned from the communication printed in the pamphlet to which I have heretofore referred, signed by Robert Lansing, in which he says:

I regret to inform you that the American representatives feel that any further efforts on their part connected with this matter would be futile and, therefore, unwise.

Col. House I had never seen, nor had I read much of him. I belong to the party, as Senator Knox knows, of which President Wilson is the official head, and I confess that I was curious to meet the great Col. House. He undoubtedly treated us most splendidly, and he deserves all of the commendation given to him in respect to smoothness and velvetness of character, and I doubt whether we could at all find fault with the kindness and courtesy extended to us by him.

I have listened to a summary of the proceedings of the peace conference, and I would confirm that from our knowledge of that which took place in Paris, with this detail. I think we were all three informed by the chairman of the subcommittee, to whom was theoretically allotted the preparation of the league of nations draft, that the perfected instrument was handed to him with instructions to present it within 10 minutes.

Senator FALL. Who was that?

Mr. RYAN. I would rather not now state. I shall probably inform you later on in the day after a conference with our people.

Senator FALL. We would like to know.

Mr. RYAN. I am sure you would. And the draft was read. There was no debate upon it. After its reading, the first man to interrupt was the representative from Japan, who stated that it had been his intention to present the question of race equality, but that he waived it for the time without withdrawing it, or without being misunderstood as asserting it. The representatives of Belgium arose and stated that they had hoped in view of Belgium's sufferings that Brussels would have been selected as the permanent place of meeting rather than Geneva. Some representatives of the South American Republics rose up, and then Chairman Clemenceau stated that there being no further objections, the league of nations was adopted. There was no roll call, and those of us who had heard of it, envied the skill with which it was handled and adopted, and we marveled at it all.

Senator BORAH. Is there any difference between the steam roller in Paris and in the United States?

Mr. RYAN. No; we regarded it with admiration. Some of us had had experience in Kansas City, in Chicago, and Philadelphia, and we thought that we had learned much in France which we might use profitably in America. At the last interview that I had together with my colleagues, with Col. House, the suggestion was made that we might present that which we had—our cause—to three of the American commissioners. We demurred. He then added that he would join in hearing us. We were jocular with him, and as I say, everything was exceedingly pleasant. He was most courteous, and we suggested and he joined in the suggestion, that it would be a great pleasure to listen to us upon the Irish question, that he could join three of his colleagues. There was a suggestion that we ought to have the President, and I am very positive that he said that the five commissioners had never met, the five American representatives had never met to consider any question. I mention these things hesitatingly, but at the urging of Judge Cohalan, with the thought that they might be makeweights in the scale, to show to you men the direct absence of consideration of the peoples pressing for hearings, who sought to be resurrected into nations.

The interview which you have ordered to be printed, which took place with the President after I had gone, showed some of the reasons moving the President for his conduct, because he there asserts that it was agreed that no hearings should be given to any representatives of any small nations, without the consent of the entire Big Four. Of course unanimous consent could not be obtained. You Senators heard the cause of Egypt presented yesterday. It was to me a sad spectacle to see 20 men, magnificent in their manhood—for, being somewhat undersized myself, I look with admiration upon a 6-footer—treated in such fashion by the Paris conference. Of those 20 magnificent specimens of Egyptian manhood the chairman alone did not speak English. All of the others spoke many tongues, and it is curious that at least two of them, and I think perhaps three, spoke Gaelic, although neither Mr. Walsh, Mr. Dunne, nor Mr. Ryan speak a word of Gaelic. These men have been students at various universities, and those of whom I speak specifically had studied medicine in Dublin. They were at Paris, gentlemen, able men, asking for a hearing, and a hearing was denied them.

Senator BRANDEGEE. Do I understand you to say that you were informed by the President that no hearings could be had of the smaller nations except by the unanimous consent of the Big Four?

Mr. RYAN. I was not present, but I read the interview, which you have given permission to print, and that statement there appears.

Senator BRANDEGEE. What I want to get at is this: Does this interview show whether the President stated whether he had made the request for unanimous consent that hearings be accorded them?

Mr. RYAN. I do not think so. I do not think he had made that request. In fact, I think you can see that from Mr. Lansing's letter, and upon the receipt of that letter I came to this country, believing that our hope lay more in America than in Paris. He writes—

Senator BRANDEGEE. Who writes?

Mr. RYAN. Robert Lansing. This is a letter addressed to Hon. Frank P. Walsh, and it appears on page 10 of the pamphlet to which I have heretofore referred. We addressed a letter to the President on May 22, 1919, asking that the communication which we inclosed be transmitted to Monsieur Clemenceau, president of the peace conference, which letter will be found on page 8 of the pamphlet heretofore referred to. I wish now to read the reply to that letter which is signed by Robert Lansing, and which appears, as I say, on page 10 of the pamphlet heretofore referred to. The letter is as follows:

AMERICAN COMMISSION TO NEGOTIATE PEACE,
Hotel de Crillon, Paris, May 24, 1919.

SIR: I have received the letter which you and Messrs. Dunne and Ryan addressed to me on May 16 regarding the issuing of safe conducts by the British Government to Eamon de Valera, Arthur Griffith, and George Noble Count Plunkett, in order that they may proceed from Ireland to France and return, and I immediately took steps to acquaint myself with the facts of the case, which transpired before the matter was brought to my attention by your above-mentioned letter.

I am informed that when the question of approaching the British authorities with a view to procuring the safe conducts in question was first considered, every effort was made in an informal way to bring you into friendly touch with the British representatives here, although owing to the nature of the case it was not possible to treat the matter officially. The British authorities having consented that you and your colleagues should visit England and Ireland although your passports were only good for France, every facility was given to you to make the journey. Before your return to Paris, however, reports were received of certain utterances made by you and your colleagues during your visit to Ireland. These utterances, whatever they may have been, gave, as I am informed, the deepest offense to those persons with whom you were seeking to deal and consequently it seemed useless to make any further effort in connection with the request which you desired to make. In view of the situation thus created, I regret to inform you that the American representatives feel that any further efforts on their part connected with this matter would be futile and therefore unwise.

I am, sir,

Your obedient servant,

ROBERT LANSING.

In this correspondence you will find that my colleagues challenge the point that we had given utterance to any thought which gave offense to anyone. We went to Ireland at the request of the representatives of the Irish people and with the consent of Mr. Lloyd-George. Our passports were amended, mine and Mr. Walsh's, upon the application of the President of the United States. Gov. Dunne had the additional distinction, appearing in the record, of his passport having been amended upon the application of the President and Mr. Lloyd-George. Why this signal honor was given to him I do not know. Probably the typewriter slipped up on the other two.

Senator KNOX. Amended in what respect?

Mr. RYAN. In this respect. We made application when we went to Europe for France alone, for Paris. We did not contemplate a visit to Ireland. When we reached there suggestions were made to us of meetings and time was being lost, and in the meantime we were invited to go to Ireland. We then sought to have our passports changed, and they were changed forthwith, although the State Office said that such a thing had never happened, that it would take at least three weeks by cable to effect the change. Nevertheless, they were changed within an hour and a half and delivered to us; changed after that message had been received from the State Department. We did

go to Ireland, and we saw the conditions detailed there. We visited all parts of Ireland.

At the request of the representatives of Lloyd-George, Gov. Dunne and I visited Belfast, at the request of Sir William Wiseman, the liaison officer between the two Governments. We visited all parts of Ireland, and the conditions portrayed by our chairman are exactly as portrayed. They present to different minds, of course, different phases, but you have a people there united to a degree unparalleled in their history. I have been connected with the Irish movement during all of my life. There has never been such unanimity among the Irish people, and there has never been such a unanimous desire for their recognition upon the part of the people of Irish blood in the United States. I do not care what official place men may hold, through whose veins flow Irish blood, when they seek to uphold this tyrannous production, then I say they fly in the face of the desires and the hopes of the Irish people. We are one in this matter as never before in our history. I never saw Ireland until I saw it in May of this year. They are a wondrous people, a kindly people, yearning, yearning for betterment. By every test that the President meted out, they have met the requirements. Under the forms of British law, 79 representatives are hostile to English rule out of an elected 101. Seventy-nine out of one hundred and one. Seventy-three of those seventy-nine were elected as ultrarepublicans, saying they would not sit in the British House of Commons if chosen, and upon that platform they were chosen. There was division among the people, because large masses of them who are what are called nationalists still believed there was no hope for a republic. Therefore they divided their vote. Men there say that upon a plebescite, the nation, four to one at least, would vote for an Irish republic. All Provinces in Ireland are as one. For 30 years, may I call to the attention of Senators, every one of the four Provinces in Ireland has been a nationalist Province.

For 30 years 17 out of the 33 representatives from Ulster have been Nationalists. When men speak of this Ulster question and say that it indicates hostility to the aspirations of the rest of Ireland, they speak in ignorance of the history of Ulster. The best blood of Ulster, the people of Ulster, have been the radical revolutionists of Ireland. The united Irishmen who first proclaimed and sought the establishment of a republic—that movement was originated by the Ulster men, not Catholics, in 1792. The greatest name in Irish history, the one most loved, the one to whom the hearts of the people go out in greatest enthusiasm, was the founder of that organization, Theobald Wolfe Tone, the man who died in the rebellion of 1798 with the Ulster Protestants. And need I say to you that Robert Emmet was also a Protestant, though not an Ulster man. Those of you who walk along lower Broadway in New York City will see as you come up to Cortland street, at St. Paul's Church, two great monuments, higher than from floor to ceiling of this room, one telling of the life of the brother of Robert Emmet, the brother who, fleeing from imprisonment, sought refuge in New York and became its attorney general and one of the leaders of the American bar.

The other is a monument of like character to Dr. McNevin, who rose to the head of American physicians in the early days of the

nineteenth century. These men are typical of the long roll of Ulster men who fought and died for Ireland. Why, Senator Knox, your Pittsburgh district is filled with the names of the Pattons and men of that character whose ancestors died in Ireland battling against British tyranny. They gave to Pennsylvania so many of its names, Coleraine, Donegal, Tyrone, and Dungannon, all resplendent in its history. Those men brought these old names to their new homes, and they helped to make that great American Commonwealth. They reached out away beyond the Alleghenies, and they peopled the West, and I doubt not the ancestors of many of you were of that glorious strain. There is no religious question in this Irish movement. Excepting O'Connell and Redmond, in the whole long line of Ireland's history, when we call the roll of her mighty men, there were only two or three Catholics. I mean in the last 150 years. Molineaux and Swift and Wood and Grattan and Emmet, and Thomas Davis, the National poet, Archibald Hamilton, Rowan and Curran, and John Mitchell and Parnell in our own day. The men who make up this splendid body of idealists, even though their writs run to no foot of land, these men have been animated by a holy hope for liberty. All three of us who went to Paris—Dunne, Ryan, and Walsh—were born in this country. All our interests are here. The dust of our fathers and the bones of our children are alike buried in America. We love America above all other nations; three of my household went into this war.

One of my kin is dead at Chateau-Thierry. I looked for his grave over there. The French Government conducted me and Gov. Dunne to find that grave. Our kin entered this war believing that the United States meant what it said, that the right of self-determination should be given to all peoples, and the Irish, no matter what their feelings were that no war should have been declared, when this Congress spoke they rallied to a man; they poured forth their blood and their treasure, whether from Massachusetts or Missouri or Pennsylvania or California. Wherever it might be, the Irish rallied to the cause of the Stars and Stripes; and I beg of you Senators to exercise your rights and keep the pledged faith of America. Keep troth to the living and to the dead, and save this Nation and save our sons from engaging in wars to which neither the conscience nor the Congress of the United States shall give its assent, by defeating this treaty. [Applause.]

Those men brought these old names to their new homes, and they helped to make that great American Commonwealth. They reached out away beyond the Alleghenies, and they peopled the West, and I doubt not the ancestors of many of you were of that glorious strain. There is no religious issue in this Irish movement. Excepting O'Connell and Redmond, in the whole long line of Ireland's history, when we call the roll of leaders of her mighty men, there were few Catholics—I mean in the last 150 years. Molineaux and Swift, and Grattan and Emmet, and Archibald Hamilton Rowan, and Curran and John Mitchell, and Thomas Davis, the national poet, and Parnell in our own day, were all Protestants. Regardless of religion, regardless of creed, they were types and forerunners of the splendid body of idealists, the men who, assembled in Dublin to-day, speaking for Ireland, even though their writs run to no foot of land, are animated by the same centuries old holy hope for liberty.

All three of us who went to Paris—Dunne, Ryan, and Walsh—were born in this country. All our interests are here. The dust of our fathers and the bones of our children are alike buried in America. We love America above all other nations. Three of my household went into this war. One of my kin is dead at Chateau-Thierry. I looked for his grave over there. The French Government conducted me and Gov. Dunne to find that grave. Our kin entered this war believing that the United States meant what it said, that the right of self-determination should be given to all peoples, and the Irish, no matter what their feelings were that no war should have been declared, when this Congress spoke they rallied to a man; they poured forth their blood and their treasure, whether from Massachusetts or Missouri or Pennsylvania or California. Wherever it might be, the Irish rallied to the cause of the Stars and Stripes; and I beg of you Senators to exercise your rights and keep the pledged faith of America. Keep troth to the living and to the dead, and save this Nation and save our sons from engaging in wars to which neither the conscience nor the Congress of the United States shall give its assent, by defeating this treaty.

Judge COHALAN. I have the pleasure of introducing Gov. Dunne, the third member of the commission that went to Paris, former governor of Illinois, former mayor of the city of Chicago.

STATEMENT OF HON. EDWARD F. DUNNE.

Mr. DUNNE. Senator Lodge and fellow Senators, I with my colleagues appreciate the great courtesy extended to ourselves and to those who will address you after I have concluded my brief statement, and I will not unduly trespass upon your most valuable time.

Permit me briefly to corroborate in general the statements made so eloquently, so forcefully, and so truthfully by Mr. Walsh and by Mr. Ryan. Let me tell you gentlemen why we went to Paris. We had read, as every American citizen has read, the aims and objects of the American Nation as expressed by its Chief Executive in entering this World War. We believe that the aims and objects so lucidly, so clearly, so forcefully stated by the President of the United States would, when that war was consummated, be carried out at the conference in Paris.

We, with millions of our fellow citizens in this country, expected that the Irish nation would not be made an exception among the weaker nations of the earth. We waited with patience and with confidence that at the conference in Paris the representatives selected by the American people would embody in the terms of the peace that was to be consummated there the aims and objects of the American people as expressed by its President. We waited until the 1st of February. We knew that in Paris the envoys of the Irish nation were knocking at the doors of the conference and asking a safe conduct for the duly elected representatives of the Irish people to Paris, so that they could present to this conference the claims of the Irish people to nationhood. So far as the papers of America were concerned, and so far as the papers of the world were concerned, the name of Ireland was not mentioned at that conference. We are citizens of America, who were born here, who love and admire this country and believe in keeping its faith; we happen to have Irish blood

in our veins, but all three of us, like Mr. Walsh, were born here, and we all feel alike about this country. Like Mr. Walsh, I was not identified in any way with Irish societies. For years and years before I was honored by that great convention with the appointment as one of its commissioners, I had devoted all my life to American citizenship solely, and had been honored by my fellow citizens as an American citizen. I love this country above all countries, as they do, and we would sink Ireland and every other country into the deep rather than sacrifice the interests of this country.

We met at that convention. I think it was the most extraordinary convention I ever attended. Over 5,000 people who felt as we did gathered from every State and Territory in the United States, and under the guidance and inspiration of that convention a committee of 25 were appointed for the purpose of assisting the Irish people before the American commission in Paris to obtain a hearing, and the right of Ireland, as determined by an election held in December, three months after the armistice was signed, under all the forms and securities of British law, in which it was determined by three-quarters of the Irish people, in round numbers, that an Irish republic was born, and a declaration of independence was issued such as the American people issued in 1776.

That committee of 25 honored Mr. Walsh, Mr. Ryan, and myself, asking us to become a commission of three to go to Paris, to appeal for what and to whom? To appeal to the representatives of the American Nation in Paris for the right of the Irish people to be heard in Paris along the lines enunciated by the President when he advised the American people to enter this world-wide war. Before we left Washington Mr. Walsh, in a letter to the Secretary of State, told the Secretary of State the object of our mission. It was avowedly political. It was avowedly for the purpose of enabling us to obtain a hearing for the Irish nation before the world peace conference. That letter is on file with the Secretary of State. After some delay passports were issued. I believe there was a protest from the British Government which delayed us 48 hours, but the Secretary of State granted the passports upon that letter.

The Secretary of State and the whole world knew, through the newspapers, the object of our mission, which was avowedly political.

We arrived at Paris. We were careful from the start to place the objects of our mission in writing and address it to the President first. The letter was addressed to the President and we were accorded a long interview, and I think I can characterize it as an unofficially sympathetic interview. The President referred us to Col. House. We had several interviews with Col. House, who treated us with extreme courtesy and acted with extreme diligence, but also unofficially.

I think Mr. Walsh interviewed every member of the American delegation. I personally interviewed every member but one, Secretary Lansing. We pointed out that we came as American citizens to address five American citizens in their official capacity as the representatives of the great American Republic, and all that we asked of the official representatives of the American Republic was to use their good offices officially to obtain for the duly elected representatives of the Irish people, elected under all the securities of British law, the right to plead their case before the tribunal in Paris.

That was the sole object of our mission. Col. House acted with extreme diligence and courtesy, as my colleagues have told you. I think he interviewed Lloyd-George on the subject, and gave us to understand that he believed we were going to get for them that safe conduct.

The CHAIRMAN. Unofficially?

Mr. DUNNE. Unofficially, but told us that Lloyd-George—I suppose also unofficially—desired to meet the members of the delegation, and we believed that our cause was so impregnably just from the standpoint of American citizens that we could afford to meet and argue with Lloyd-George the justice of the Irish demand, and we consented to meet him at any day he might designate, and a day was designated to meet him. On the day designated it turned out, and I think truthfully, that owing to the exigencies of the situation in the preparation of the final draft of the peace conference and its presentation to the German representatives, Lloyd-George was unable to keep the appointment for the interview with us, and we were courteously so informed in the presence of Col. House, by Sir William Wiseman. It was then suggested, I do not know by whom, that as the safe conduct was not to be given promptly, and as the delegates of the Irish people were in Ireland and we were in Paris, it was impossible for us to confer with them, if they could not come to Paris, unless we could go to Ireland.

Thereupon, by prompt cooperation between the American officials, French officials, and British officials, we were given passports the next day which stated upon their face that our mission was diplomatic, and that we were going upon an unofficial political mission, and we avowedly stated that our desire was to communicate with the representatives of the Irish people and to become acquainted at first-hand with the situation in Ireland. There was no disguise about the object of our visit, and no restrictions or limitations of any character were imposed upon us either by the British premier or by the French authorities or by the American authorities, and we went to Ireland. And this is what we found there in Ireland, a component part of the British Empire, that the people of Ireland were without any of the British constitutional securities which are thrown around the citizens of those Islands. We found that the habeas corpus was practically suspended, because of the restrictions thrown around it by the rulings of British courts, which made it an idle formality. We found the right of trial by jury suspended. Any man charged with political crime in Ireland could be tried only before a British court-martial, military authorities, or before a removable magistrate without a jury, these removable magistrates being appointed by the crown, many of them from the police force, sent from Dublin and different districts in Ireland, removable overnight, earning salaries of \$4,000 a year and amenable to the recall of the Government at any time.

Senator BRANDEGEE. Is there any appeal from the decisions of those military magistrates?

Mr. DUNNE. None that I know of. Men were arrested without warrant. We found that houses were searched without warrant, and men when arrested were imprisoned in British jails or deported to English jails, and not informed what charges were made against them.

Senator BRANDEGEE. The previous speaker, Mr. Walsh, spoke of men being taken prisoners in this fight between the populace and the British constabulary. What sort of a trial did they get?

Mr. DUNNE. My information is that they got a trial before a court-martial or a removable magistrate. If a man in Ireland makes a speech in which he advocates the republic he is immediately brought up. If he advocates or argues in favor of the recognition of the Irish republic, they take that man up before a court-martial or before a removable magistrate, who is paid \$4,000 a year.

Senator BRANDEGEE. Under the British law it is a crime to advocate that, is it not?

Mr. DUNNE. Yes; notwithstanding the fact that 75 per cent of the people have gone to the polls openly and voted for that. We found that men's houses are searched without warrant; that men, women, and children are arrested without warrant and confined at the pleasure of the Government, either in an Irish jail or deported to an English jail. A boy, 11 years of age, was arrested there and kept in jail for two months. No one knew where he was. Finally he was released when there was a threat of an investigation. That is the situation we found in Ireland.

The leaders of the Irish people, the men who were elected by their constituents to the British Parliament, refused to attend the British Parliament and organized the Irish Parliament—the Dail Eireann; many of them were in jail, not being able to attend the meetings of the Parliament, with the result, of course, that the sentiment of the people being so overwhelmingly with them that when they get them in jail they can not keep them there. Robert Barton, owner of a landed estate, 1,200 acres of the most beautiful country ever seen, with a manorial residence, an officer of the British Government, was compelled by the British authorities to take charge of Irish prisoners and saw such indecencies committed that he resigned his office as a protest, becoming a Republican, and was elected to the Dail Eireann. He made a speech during the campaign. He was arrested and placed in Mountjoy, remained there a couple of weeks, and then managed to saw a bar, left a very polite and humorous note addressed to the governor of the jail, saying that he did not like his bill of fare or his sleeping accommodations, and would the governor of the jail be kind enough to send his clothes to the address given in Dublin. He was a man of such prominence and his case excited so much interest that an official investigation was ordered, and while the investigation was going on in the jail the deputy warden rushed in and said, "My God, there are 23 more of those fellows gone over the wall." That is the situation in Ireland.

Let me tell you of two little incidents that I witnessed with my own eyes. Three of four hundred soldiers under the command of British officers surrounded the Mansion House in Dublin, and three or four hundred policemen under official direction surrounded the Mansion House at half past 5 in the afternoon, for the sole purpose of preventing the Lord Mayor of Dublin from extending an official reception to the delegates from America. While we were attempting to get in, some guns were fired. There were a crowd of 20,000 or 30,000 people around the house, brought there by the mere fact that the military, with armored guns, were around the Mansion House. People were laughing at them and guying that ridiculous

display of military force made for the sole purpose of preventing a social function tendered by the chief executive of the great city of Dublin to the three gentlemen who had come there from America.

A few hours before that the bedroom of the chief lady of Ireland was desecrated by the police, seeking as they claimed, some escaped prisoners. That is the situation which we found in Ireland.

Now, it is my judgment that if this treaty be confirmed by this body—and you are charged with the responsibility of approving or disregarding this treaty—if section 11 be approved you gentlemen will be acting as partners in the enforcement of that kind of law upon an unwilling people. We ask you to reject this treaty as American citizens, not because we are Irishmen, but because the Government over there as it now exists is an outrage upon constitutional government, because there is a situation to-day that rivals, if it does not exceed, the situation that prevailed years ago under the most tyrannical conditions of that time.

The CHAIRMAN. The committee will take a recess now until 2 o'clock. We will hear the Greeks from 2 to 3, and then we will resume this hearing.

(Whereupon, at 1 p. m. a recess was taken until 2 p. m.)

AFTER RECESS.

The committee reconvened pursuant to the taking of the recess, at 2 o'clock p. m., Senator Henry Cabot Lodge presiding.

The CHAIRMAN. I have here a protest against the views expressed in the morning session, signed by David W. Irvine, Henry Stewart, John Kennedy, Lieut. Lewis H. Shaw, Albert E. Kelley, William H. Cheney, and William Balfour. I told these gentlemen that we could not give them a hearing to-day, but I would give them a hearing next week. The gentleman who represented them said he desired to file this brief and have it published in our hearings.

Senator KNOX. It is a brief against what?

The CHAIRMAN. It is in opposition to what has been said here this morning. It will be printed at the conclusion of this hearing.

Senator KNOX. Mr. Chairman, I see no objection to including within our hearings everything that we hear, but does the chairman think that we ought to open the door for people to file briefs?

The CHAIRMAN. That authority was given when we started the hearings—that they would have a right to file briefs.

Senator KNOX. The first thing we know they will be filing books after a while. I think anyone who has anything to say ought to be heard.

The CHAIRMAN. This relates to the hearing which we granted this morning. The other side has requested to be heard in this way.

Senator KNOX. I think we ought to hear them, if they are here.

The CHAIRMAN. We could not hear them to-day, and I thought it would save the time of the committee to permit them to put in a brief. We have done that on several occasions.

Senator NEW. The brief is in lieu of a hearing?

The CHAIRMAN. In lieu of a hearing; yes.

Senator KNOX. I do not want to insist, but it does seem to me that if they have anything to say that is worth hearing, we would

better hear them rather than give them an indefinite right to print, because that is what it amounts to.

The CHAIRMAN. I think we can control the right to print.

Senator KNOX. Perhaps we can.

(The brief referred to will be found at the conclusion of to-day's proceedings.)

The CHAIRMAN. Judge Cohalan, I will ask you to present your next speaker.

Judge COHALAN. Gentlemen, I have the pleasure now of presenting to you Lieut. Gov. W. W. McDowell, of Montana.

STATEMENT OF HON. W. W. McDOWELL, LIEUTENANT GOVERNOR OF MONTANA.

Mr. McDOWELL. Mr. Chairman and gentlemen, when I came to Washington from Montana on yesterday morning with the seven governors who were appointed to attend the governors' conference with the President and the Attorney General, I did not know I was to have the pleasure and the honor of appearing before this committee.

I have been told by the gentlemen having this movement in charge that I am expected to speak only a few minutes, and that they would like to have me refer to the reception given to President de Valera, president of the Irish Republic, when he came to Montana recently. As my time is very limited, I will devote it to that angle of the matter, as tending to show the sentiment of the people on the question now being considered by this committee.

I will state that as lieutenant governor of Montana my duty is to preside over the State senate, and as such presiding officer I am familiar with the action taken by the legislature in its last regular session held in January and February of this year, and also the action taken at the special session held a few weeks ago.

At the regular session of the legislature last winter a resolution was unanimously adopted, there being no dissenting vote in either the senate or the house, asking the Senate and House of Representatives of the Congress of the United States to use their best endeavors to bring about the recognition of the independence of Ireland.

Before the special session of the Legislature of Montana met, President de Valera, of the Irish republic, came to Montana. I live in Butte, and as I was then acting governor it became my pleasure to welcome President de Valera to Montana and to extend to him the freedom of the State. The reception which he received there was the most enthusiastic and the most spontaneous reception that I have ever seen since I have lived in Montana during the past 24 years. Our little town has a population of only about 65,000 people, but there were at least 10,000 people at the depot to greet President de Valera when he got off the train. It was almost impossible for him to get through the crowd to get into the automobile which was waiting for him to go uptown. I had the pleasure and the honor of riding uptown with the president, and I noticed that there were more returned soldiers in uniform escorting that automobile uptown than I have ever seen in uniform in Butte before or since the war started.

I saw a great many horny-handed sons of toil break through the line and rush up to the automobile to shake hands with the president of the Irish republic, and there were tears in their eyes. The procession that came up from the depot with him was at least a mile and a half long. Every musical organization that we could get together in the State was there, and the sentiment of the people of Butte and the people of Montana is undoubtedly very strong in favor of Irish independence.

At the special session of the legislature the matter of again passing a resolution came up a few weeks ago. This was after President de Valera had been invited by me as the president of the senate to make an address to a joint session of the legislature. He stayed over several days so as to make this address. Some little opposition developed among some people in the legislature against inviting him. However, he was unanimously invited to address the legislature, which he did. He was then introduced to the crowd that could not get into the legislative hall, waiting in front of the capitol, and he received the same kind of an ovation in Helena at two or three meetings that he had received in Butte.

Another resolution was introduced in the special session of the legislature asking the Senate of the United States and Congress to do what they could to bring about recognition of the Irish republic, and this matter was fought out on its merits, and finally passed both the house and the senate by a good majority. I mention this to show that, in my opinion, three-fourths of the people of Montana and of the States around Montana are thoroughly and heartily in sympathy with the movement for the freedom of Ireland.

Senator KNOX. May I ask you a question right here? It was represented to us this morning that the fate of the Irish republic depends upon whether or not we reject this proposed league of nations. Now, you say the sentiment in Montana is in favor of an Irish republic. How is the sentiment there on the question of the league of nations?

Mr. McDOWELL. I believe the opinion in Montana and in the surrounding States is one of decided opposition to any clause in any treaty or in any league of nations that will in any way stand in the way of Ireland securing her freedom.

Senator KNOX. Then if Mr. Walsh is correct in his statement this morning that to adopt this league at all would defeat the Irish republic, your judgment is that the sentiment of the people of Montana would be against the whole league?

Mr. McDOWELL. I think I have expressed the opinion which I wish to express in what I said before.

Senator KNOX. All right, I will not press you further.

Senator FALL. Would you object to answering this question: Is it the opinion there that any article in this proposed league would possibly affect the freedom of Ireland?

Mr. McDOWELL. I think that among practically all of the Irish in Montana they feel that it would. There are a great many other people in Montana and in the adjoining States who are not of Irish blood, who, I think, are in hearty sympathy with the aspirations of Ireland, and would be opposed to any clause in any treaty that would stand in the way of Irish freedom.

Senator JOHNSON of California. One further question: Do you think guaranteeing the boundaries of the British Empire will affect the question concerning which you are speaking here and the question that we have before us to-day?

Mr. McDOWELL. Senator, I have answered that question as far as I am prepared to answer it.

Senator JOHNSON of California. I wanted to be perfectly fair on the proposition and perfectly fair as to the position that you gentlemen take in respect to this matter.

Mr. McDOWELL. I am approaching this matter from a somewhat different angle from that of a great many of the gentlemen who have spoken here this morning so eloquently on this matter. I am a Protestant. My ancestors came to this country 250 years ago, and I am thoroughly and heartily in favor of Irish freedom and in helping them to obtain it. I think the great majority of the people of Montana and the surrounding States feel the same way about it regardless of whether they have any Irish blood or not, and they would be opposed to any clause in any treaty that would stand in the way of Ireland securing that independence.

Judge CONALAN. I wish next to present Mr. John A. Murphy, of Buffalo, N. Y., the fourth member of the American Commission on Irish Independence, who has recently come back from Paris.

STATEMENT OF MR. JOHN ARCHDEACON MURPHY.

Mr. MURPHY. Mr. Chairman and Senators, in accordance with the request of the committee having in charge the American Commission on Irish Independence, I left on the 21st of June and reached Paris on the 30th of June. During the week while I was sailing the peace treaty had been signed and the President and the presidential party had returned to America. The colleagues with whom I expected to fall in in the carrying on of the work, Messrs. Walsh and Dunne, had also returned from Paris, and I did not meet them in France.

It is needless to say that for a while the situation in France, as a stranger might sense it, was one of relaxation after the strain of the peace conference. It was one of an intense amount of gossip and whispers and reactions from the results of the peace conference.

During the most of the time I was there I was busily engaged in presenting the case of Ireland to the editors of the French papers and in endeavoring to obtain a presentation of it before Mr. Clemenceau, to whom it was stated the question of Ireland was referred in his capacity as president of the peace conference.

After being in Paris for about two or three weeks I became advised that before the President and Mr. Lansing left France they had been informed by Mr. Clemenceau in his capacity as president of the peace conference that no action would be taken upon the question of Ireland. That was material news and in my judgment it foreclosed any possibility that Ireland may have or might expect to have of prosecuting her cause before the league of nations.

On June 22 I wrote a letter in the name of the American Commission on Irish Independence to Mr. Clemenceau, and if you will permit me I will read the letter, or if you desire I will insert it in the record. It is on page 65 of the brown pamphlet.

The CHAIRMAN. The letter will be inserted in the record.
The letter is as follows:

[Personal and urgent.]

AMERICAN COMMISSION ON IRISH INDEPENDENCE,
Paris, July 22, 1919.

M. GEORGES CLEMENCEAU,

President of the Peace Conference and Premier of France, Paris.

MONSIEUR LE PRESIDENT: We are in receipt of information from sources of high authorities that, as president of the peace conference, you have notified American peace plenipotentiaries that, so far as further consideration of the Irish question is concerned, the matter is one in which you will take no action.

We understand this decision covers:

1. That the resolution of the American Senate, officially forwarded to you by the American Commission to Negotiate Peace, and the recommendations contained therein expressing sympathetic support to the people of Ireland in their efforts to obtain a government of their own choice, is, by this action, denied in a manner suggestive of your entire disregard of American public

2. That the peace conference further ignores the request of the Hon. Messrs. Walsh and Dunne for the appointment of an international tribunal to investigate into the charges of barbarities and inhuman conduct, in violation of the rules of civilized warfare, perpetrated by the British Government through its military forces in occupation of Ireland, and upon its defenseless people.

The knowledge of your decision in these matters has been up to now withheld from the American public. The results of the publication of this information will doubtless have very material weight at this time while the attention of the United States Senate is occupied in matters of international importance, in which we feel France has a material interest. Arrangements have already been made for giving widespread publicity in America to this decision on your part. But before taking this step, we respectfully suggest that an audience may be granted by you to the undersigned to present the importance of the situation, particularly in its relation to the future interests of France, of America, and of Great Britain.

There are 20,000,000 citizens of Irish blood in the United States, and the effect of this information when published there needs no characterization by us to indicate how grave may be the danger to the continuance of those same relations of amity and esteem that have marked the friendships existing between the French, American, and Irish peoples.

Trusting that I may be accorded the honor of this audience with you at your earliest possible convenience, and with assurances of high esteem and respect, we have the honor to remain,

Sincerely, yours,

AMERICAN COMMISSION ON IRISH INDEPENDENCE,
JOHN ARCHDEACON MURPHY, *Commissioner in Charge.*

MR. MURPHY. I was aware that the information I had received had not been made public in America, and that it was held under the veil of secrecy from publication by request of the American opinion as rendered in the deliberate resolution of our highest legislative body.

representatives. After the letter was delivered to Mr. Clemenceau, the information was conveyed back to me in circuitous fashion that if I were to make public the information that I had outlined in that letter to Mr. Clemenceau it would not be wise or judicious, while I was a guest in Paris. Therefore I refrained from making it public until I returned to America; but it was known, not in one circle but in many, that there was an effort made to conceal from the American people and from the American Senate this action on the part of Clemenceau until they had, as it was hoped, passed favorably upon and ratified the league of nations.

Senator BRANDEGEE. You speak of this information as having been conveyed to you circuitously. Do you know from whom it originated?

Mr. MURPHY. You mean the information that it should not be published?

Senator BRANDEGEE. Yes.

Mr. MURPHY. No; I can not say that of my own knowledge, except to say that one of the most important men who is accredited to have the ear of the French Government, the foreign editor of *Le Temps*, advised an associate and friend of mine, Mr. Erskine Chillers, a former major in the British army, a man who has espoused the cause of the Irish Republic in a wholehearted and unadulterated manner, and one of the best known publicists in England. The foreign editor of *Le Temps* conveyed this information to him and I have reason to believe that that was an inspired message. I did not say that that was a message brought from Mr. Clemenceau, but either Mr. Clemenceau or Mr. Tardieu were the only two who had knowledge of it unless they conveyed that knowledge to some one else.

Senator BRANDEGEE. What I wanted to know was, in your judgment, did that information represent the French opinion, or did it represent the desire of the American commission?

Mr. MURPHY. I construed it as representing the French request, in accordance with the action of the American commission.

Senator BRANDEGEE. That is all I care to ask.

Mr. MURPHY. There is one more incident that I would like to present to you, and then I will give way to others. I am not going to occupy your time with the delivery of any argument on this question. There is a short presentation of one phase of the question that, with your permission, I will ask to insert in the record later.

At or about this time, by reason of family connections and business interests, I desired to visit England and Ireland. I made my request before Consul Reed in the ordinary manner, for an amendment to my passport. My passport did not give me permission to proceed anywhere except to France, as it stated, to attend the peace conference in the interest of self-government for Ireland. I was told my request would have to be sent to Washington. After waiting two weeks on the pleasure of Washington, as they explained to me, I had called three or four times to ascertain if there was any reply to my request to amend my passport, and on August 8 I received the following letter:

UNITED STATES PASSPORT BUREAU,
Paris, August 8, 1919.

JOHN A. MURPHY, Esq.,
Grand Hotel, Paris.

SIR: Referring to your recent call at the passport bureau, you are informed that a telegram has been received from Washington instructing the bureau to refuse to amend your passport for Ireland.

There is inclosed herewith the amount of 0.80 franc in stamps, which represents the balance due you after the cable charges have been deducted from the sum of 100 francs which you deposited.

I am, sir,

Respectfully yours,

E. C. REED,
American Consul.

I felt surprised, Mr. Chairman and Senators, that in pursuit of my private business as an American citizen my Government should deny me the right to proceed to the British Isles. My request for a passport was not to go to Ireland. My request for a passport was to

proceed to the British Isles. I had personally said that my purpose was not political; that I desired no exemptions from the laws of the land. I had desired to proceed there for family and personal reasons. Now, Mr. Chairman and Senators, on the other matter which I wish to present to the committee I wish to say that during a stay of about two months in Paris, where I met many of the editors of the French press and many of the public men of France, I have had opportunity to get a vision of the proposed league of nations somewhat different from that which would naturally otherwise have been given to me.

From my training and environment I have naturally paid most attention to the economic and industrial aspect of the treaty. The trouble with the treaty is that it is neither a treaty of vengeance nor a treaty of justice; it is calculated to maintain forever a commercial supremacy to one or two of the high contracting parties. I regret to say that America does not seem to be included as one of those parties.

The condition of France at the present time, as admitted to me in private conference by their thinking minds, is one of gravest import. Its finances are in a depleted condition; it has exercised its power of taxation so far as it is believed the people of France will endure, and still the income is more than a billion dollars below the absolute requirements of its budget, even with its army demobilized.

I spent some days driving over the devastated regions of northern France, and the paralysis of the country is appalling. The difficulties of obtaining raw materials and coal are greater than I can describe.

There has been no outlet for commercial development accorded to it by this present proposed treaty. Even the commercial advantages which have accrued to France from its old protectorate of the Christian people of the Orient is being imperiled by the British control in Mesopotamia and the Near East. Fifty-five per cent of the German indemnity which is supposed to be obtained by France is incomplete and uncertain reparation. Many eventualities may occur which would defer or avoid the payment of these indemnities, and neither France nor the world at large could ever be called to arms for the purpose of enforcing at the point of the sword payment which may or may not be beyond the will or the possibilities of the central powers to pay.

On the other hand, the question of sovereignty over subject people is understood in a more material way abroad than we generally understand it in America. It is understood as the right of commercial exploitation, and whether it be in the guise of mandatories for itself or its colonies, the British Empire has most successfully obtained the control of countries and people which are more than a commercial compensation for the losses endured even by the British Empire in the prosecution of war. I refer to the control that England now possesses under the terms proposed by this treaty, of almost one-third of the earth's surface. I am not discussing the freedom of the seas for the minute. Gibraltar, Malta, Suez, Aiden, and all the other strategic points held by England are solid answers in denial of the assertion that the freedom of the seas now exists.

This present treaty proposes to subject forever the sovereignty of Egypt, to condemn the oldest nation in the world to serfdom and

to commercial exploitation; Asia Minor, Arabia, Persia, Afghanistan, Thibet, Burmah, India, form an unbroken chain in the interest of England to meet and to connect its links with the sphere of influence claimed, and by this treaty yielded to the Imperial Government of Japan.

Japan, whose losses in this war were of a negligible quantity, is to be confirmed in its control of Korea with its 20,000,000 of people, and to be accorded the control of Shantung, with its iron, and coal, and mineral resources, and its many millions of Chinese inhabitants, and which must be regarded as the commercial jugular vein of China; by it, and through its waterways and railways of the interior of China, will be acquired by commercial and treaty advantages.

It is not necessary to more than glance at the map of Africa to see that from Cairo to the Cape it is to be dominated in the British interest.

I point out these things to you gentlemen to call your attention to the undying antagonism that exists between the principles upon which a Government like ours is founded, of the people and for the people, and the principles upon which an imperial government is founded, where the Crown is, if not the right divine, at least it is the center around which rallies in support the commercial, the military, and selfish oligarchies of privilege. All of this, which I believe you will admit as self-evident, is to my mind trained and aimed more especially against America than any other country in the world; it is asserted that our factories produce in eight months our domestic requirements, so that for four months of the year we are forced either to seek foreign markets or to shut down our factories. England well knows that it can not stop the fertility of our fields from producing cotton and corn and the necessities of life in bounteous plenty; nor our mines in their production of raw material in practically unlimited quantities; nor can it fetter the energy and the power of American industrial and commercial development. It therefore seeks, under the specious title of a league of nations, to draw a wall of iron around the markets of the world, where, by a preferential imperial tariff, the products of our factories will be handicapped in their efforts to obtain a foreign market; where from time to time a slight concession here and there on their part may be looked upon and exploited as an act of generosity on their part toward their American cousins, and so through the aid of finance and intrigue an invisible British Empire may be superimposed upon the destinies of America.

We are asked to abdicate our sovereignty in favor of a sovereignty of a composite body in which we have but one vote as against six votes of the British Empire, and the six votes of the British Empire are but a small portion of its influence. It will be in a position to offer to every country in the world—France, Italy, Greece—special concessions and considerations for their vote on every question that arises wherein American interests might be circumscribed and impeded, regardless of principle or regardless of the eternal right in the controversy involved.

I have not attempted in these few words to enter into any discussion of the question from the Irish point of view, because I wanted it plain that my objections against this are American in the most

intense and vital things. But I respectfully submit for your consideration that the question of Ireland is interminably involved in this whole scheme of operation. America is at the present time engaged in the development of a mercantile marine to make it independent of either the good will or capacity of any other power in delivering to foreign markets the products of our factories, and especially for our trade with Europe. Her ships must have a point of debarkation as well as embarkation. In other words, a line of mercantile marine without harbors in Europe would be short lived and unprofitable. The harbors of England are and will be insufficient for the British commerce; the harbors of Europe will be dominated and controlled in the interest of their respective governments. Ireland alone offers to America friendly, sufficient, and secure harbors for the termini of its mercantile marine in the European carrying trade. From these harbors by packet steamships may be made the quickest, the cheapest, and the best distribution in Europe of American goods and merchandise.

What the attitude of England would be to bar the development of Irish harbors in this connection was illustrated in 1913, when Europe was at peace. The White Star Line, at the instance of the British Government, discontinued Queenstown as a port of call. The Hamburg-American Line announced that it would make Queenstown a port of call, but before even one ship of that line made a call at Queenstown, the British Government, in pursuance of its policy of commercial isolation with which it has surrounded Ireland informed the Imperial Government of Germany that making Queenstown a port of call would be considered by the British Government unfriendly, and it was undesirable.

I therefore submit for your consideration that the recognition of the Irish Republic, the *de jure* government of Ireland is not only right and desirable as reasoned by every standard of justice and of American ideals, but that America has an enlightened self interest in the doing of this commendable act.

The brevity of the space allotted to me compels me to deal in conclusions rather than in a presentation of the premises and the logic of the case. But we are asked by this treaty to subscribe our fortunes and the lives of our children and their children's children to continuation in serfdom of hundreds of millions of human beings whom God has created in freedom and equality; we are asked to lock the door against ourselves as an American nation in our own commercial development and while reservations and amendments may draw many of the fangs from this thing serpentine of iniquity, the American answer should be to kill it and in its place erect a true league of nations imbued with American ideals of justice and equality of opportunity for all. To lay these foundations securely and broadly and deeply and from here, in America, to bring about a league of nations that shall be of all things just to the world and all its peoples, and shall also kill this threatened encirclement of American commerce that lies hidden but real in the terms of the proposed treaty you are now asked to sanction.

Peace can only come and endure as a result of justice, and until the fabric of this treaty is reconstructed and until the thought that controls its reconstruction becomes American in its democracy, we

must cease to be a people following our traditions, if we support it, and will be dragged down to the lowest levels of commercial greed.

For these reasons I submit that the defeat of the entire treaty is the most American thing, is the most humanitarian thing, is the most just thing that can now be done.

Judge COHALAN. The last speaker before Mr. Bourke Cockran will be Mr. Daniel C. O'Flaherty, of Richmond, Va.

STATEMENT OF MR. DANIEL C. O'FLAHERTY.

MR. O'FLAHERTY. Mr. Chairman and gentlemen of the committee: In my opinion the matter which we are considering demonstrates the wisdom of the fathers when they created the Constitution of the United States. I do not believe in the history of our country a more momentous epoch has ever arisen than is now before you. It is the question of the ratification, by and with the advice and consent of the Senate, of a treaty that I think is more momentous in its consequences to the people of the world, and especially to the people of the United States, than anything that has ever come before the United States Senate. I speak to you, gentlemen, briefly, not as a politician, but as a Democrat, as a Virginian, as a Southerner, and if I may say so, as a Protestant and a Mason. Some people have said to me, and I have been told, even out in the hall here to-day, that this is a religious question. I say to you that it is not a religious question, it is not a political question, but it is a question which every American citizen has a right to take into consideration. I repeat that since the day when the Liberty Bell rang in old Philadelphia, proclaiming the Declaration of Independence, no more important matter has ever been considered by the people of this country. I have not time to go into it in the way of an argument, and after what has been said here to-day it is not necessary to argue it to such distinguished men, constitutional lawyers, but I believe that the ratification of this treaty, with articles 10 and 11 and with the other articles that follow along after it, would not make the world safe for democracy, but it would make it safe for hypocrisy. [Applause.]

What is a treaty? It is a contract between nations, and everything that is put in it is put in for somebody's benefit. What is article 10 put in there for? Is it for the benefit of the United States? We do not need it. For whose benefits is it to retain the integrity, for instance, of the British Empire? Somebody says, "Well, how does it do it?" Let us take an illustration: Suppose Canada or Ireland should desire to be free. Suppose Egypt should become free by the volition of England, and England should try to help Canada or Ireland. With whom would we go? We should have to fight against Canada in favor of England. Is not that true? I say as a lawyer that in my humble opinion articles 10 and 11 of this treaty bind Ireland and every other nation that is under the hoof of England, hand and foot to the cross.

Why should we not speak out? I say to you, gentlemen, in my opinion that if we do not speak out at this awful moment, the very stones in the street should cry out for us.

I do not claim to speak for all the people of Virginia. I am glad to say that you have on this committee one of our most distinguished sons, who has his own opinion on this subject and I may differ with

him; but we have the right to come and be heard, and I come to you to-day as a Virginian, as a Southerner, as an Irishman, as an Irish-American, as a descendant of Irish ancestors back for a thousand years. But I am first an American, and I believe that some of these articles are the greatest blow that has ever been aimed at the American Constitution. [Applause.]

Mr. Chairman, I come to you to bear to you a message from a mass meeting held in Richmond the other day, the capital of Virginia, the capital of the old Confederacy, if you please, the home State of our distinguished President. It passed this resolution unanimously.

Senator BRANDEGEE. Was it a large mass meeting?

Mr. O'FLAHERTY. Four thousand people, a large mass meeting for a city of our size, and not a dissenting voice. It unanimously adopted these resolutions:

Resolved, That we declare ourselves unreservedly in favor of the independence of Ireland, and demand that our Government recognize the Irish Republic; and

Resolved, That we register our opposition to any proposed league of nations which does not protect all American rights and ideals and which binds us to guarantee the territorial integrity of the British and Japanese Empires.

This resolution was adopted at a meeting at which the mayor of the city presided, and to which his excellency the governor gave the honor of his presence. I believe that if a plebiscite of the people of Virginia were taken without a word of discussion to-day you would find that the majority of them would be in favor of the freedom of Ireland. [Applause.] And I am sure that if you were to go before them and tell them what is being done and tell the truth of the matter they would be still more greatly in favor of it.

Gentlemen, I have been in a quandary. It is not my desire to embarrass the administration. I believe in that great Virginian who is the President of the United States, Mr. Wilson, but I believe that any league of nations which perpetuates the British Empire in its present condition, in which portions of that empire are in perpetual thralldom, is un-American, unfair, and will never be ratified by the will and the wishes of the American people. I believe I would be unfair to myself as an American, untrue to the teachings of the great Virginia patriots who did so much to establish this Republic, if I did not raise my voice at least against articles 10 and 11, especially, of the proposed league of nations, which, in my view, rivet the bands that bind Ireland to England, and would compel us to assist England in keeping Ireland in perpetual thralldom. I trust in the wisdom of this committee. I say reverently that I thank God that unto men like these were committed by the fathers the keeping of the ark of the covenant of this constitution, that we may be saved—I hope I am not speaking like a school boy—that we may be saved from the rocks ahead of us; that we remember what George Washington said when he warned us to keep out of entangling alliances. Why, this is a cobweb of such a character that the mind of no human being can fathom where we will go under it. So I hope that this committee will safeguard the rights of Ireland, that ancient nation, so that she may take her place among the nations of the earth. She is a nation; she has been a nation; she has every element of a nation, the geography, the ethnology, the soil, the climate, everything that goes to make up a nation. Why under heaven should Ire-

land, the oldest of all the white nations on earth, be the only one that is denied her freedom? [Applause.]

A favorite objection of those who are opposed to the independence of Ireland is what they glibly call the "Ulster question." Along with this is also the other oft-repeated statement that Irishmen can't agree among themselves. The last and only election ever held in Ireland in which the question of self-determination was in issue was in December, 1918, in which outside of Ulster, which is only about one-fifth of Ireland, not a single constituency, except a gerrymandered one in Dublin, was carried by the Unionists. So you have the greatest unanimity in four-fifths of Ireland for a republic.

It is true that in Ulster the Irish do not agree on this political question, or rather those who claim not to be Irish, do not agree. Without discussing the fact that we never agreed upon any political issue in our own country, and that at the time of the formation of our own republic, there were many Tories, none Irish, however, and we very often fail to agree and it is preferable that we should not always agree.

It is quite interesting to analyze the Ulster situation from an impartial standpoint, taking the vote of December, 1918, as a basis. I say an impartial standpoint because the writer of this article belongs religiously to the faction that claims to be in the majority in Ulster, and who are opposed to the independence of Ireland, but one who does not share that view. I, as a Protestant, a Mason, and one with other than Irish blood in my veins, can not be accused of being partial to the Catholic Irish, and certainly can see the facts and analyze them freely from the point of the Ulster people, if it is a religious question.

The chief exponent, as is well known, of this Ulster bugaboo is Mr. Carson, who himself until recently has never represented a constituency in Ireland, but who attempts to speak for the Province of Ulster, and his ideas have been widely disseminated through the English press as those which should be accepted by the outside world.

Ulster consists of nine counties—Donegal, Londonderry, Antrim, Tyrone, Down, Fermanagh, Monaghan, Caven, and Armagh. These nine counties in the election which was held for Parliament in 1918 were entitled to 25 seats. Out of these the Sinn Feiners carried 10, the Irish party which was not with the Sinn Feiners but opposed to the Unionists, carried 4, so that the Carsonites or Unionists, only carried 11, or a minority in Ulster. Four of these 11 seats were accredited to Antrim, in which the city of Belfast is situated, and all these representatives are Unionists. So that outside of the county in which Belfast is situated there were only eight Unionists representatives elected in the whole of Ireland, the seven outside of Antrim, and the one in the gerrymandered district near Dublin, as against 73 Sinn Feiners and 6 of the Irish Party and 6 Nationalists. Since that election, just about a month ago, one of the constituents in Antrim was captured by the Sinn Feiners in a bye election showing the tremendous change in the sentiment in the only stronghold that the Unionists had, and this is the election at which Mr. Carson said that if he didn't carry he would resign, which of course was nothing but a bluff, for he is simply the agent of the English Government, and is not likely to resign his job so

long as he can hold it. The majority for the Unionists in those constituencies last December averaged about 6,000.

These are the cold facts in the case, which are verified by the official reports which I have before me as to the election of 1918. We then have a minority of a small section of the country, less than one-fifth of it, asking that the will of the people of a great country in which a million votes were cast be heard as against the rights of the many.

Belfast in the last election cast about 79,000 votes for the Union and 39,000 for the Independence. By some sanctity unknown to Americans this 40,000 majority who claim they are not Irish but Scotch-Irish, claim that they ought to rule over a million Irish who are not only shamed to be called Irish, but glory in the distinction. When, therefore, you hear anyone repeat the statement that Ireland can not agree as to what she wants, simply recall these facts and ask yourself if such "twaddle" should receive any consideration at the hands of the Americans who believe in majority rule.

But rest assured that Robert Emmet, a Protestant Irishman's epitaph will be written some day, and monuments will be erected to others without regard to religion or creed, but simply because they were friends of Irish freedom; and further, that if England's fleet was thrice as great, and her gold as many times more potent in disseminating false propaganda, the Irish Republic will live.

It is thus seen that the only part of Ireland which can't agree among themselves are the Irishmen of Ulster, and even here many have said that the will of the rest of Ireland should prevail.

The fact is that many of the people of Antrim, and especially Belfast, are not Irish, but are Scotch, or as they are sometimes erroneously called Scotch-Irish, whatever that means, for that term is a much abused one and ignorantly used, for as a matter of fact there is no such a race as Scotch-Irish as a race.

The remedy would seem to be, if these people are Scotch or English and feel that they do not want to be ruled by the majority of the people of the country, to take a boat and sail across to Glasgow which is just a few hours' ride and let the great mass of people who dwell in Ireland conduct the affairs of the country to suit themselves. Belfast is nothing more than a mushroom manufacturing town, which might succeed as well in building ships and making linen in Glasgow as on the other side of the Irish Sea. As well might the cities of Norfolk, Portsmouth, and Newport News, which constitute about the same proportion to the State of Virginia, say that we won't play with you at all because we don't like you in other respects and therefore we are not going to submit to the majority of the people of Virginia. In other words, if you should move the shipyards from Belfast, which 40 years ago had a population of less than 50,000, to the Clyde or the Firth, you would get rid of the Ulster question and remove the only argument that England has. But luckily this ancient nation has never recognized, and never will as long as the blood of the Gael flows through Irish veins, the government of England maintained at Dublin Castle by force of arms, fraud, and bribery.

Another argument which is highly esteemed by these self-styled "Better-than-thou" Irishmen, is that while we have not the population we have the wealth and intelligence. The facts in the case as

to this canard are even stronger than as to the question of the majority in Ulster.

Leinster, in which the city of Dublin is situated, is a much wealthier province than Ulster. The city of Dublin, with her population, which is really about the same as Belfast, is assessed with property of the value of over £11,000,000, or Dublin is assessed about twice as much as Belfast. Dublin pays an income tax of about £200,000. The whole of Leinster, taken together, is much wealthier than Ulster, whose wealth is the lowest, except Connaught, which is in the extreme western part of Ireland and much of its territory is a wild and rocky, broken sea country which is not susceptible of cultivation or development.

But, say these same objectors, Ulster is Protestant and the rest of Ireland is Catholic, and therefore the majority should not rule. That is democracy with a reservation which American people can not understand, for it announces that if the majority in Ulster are Protestants they should rule, if Catholic they should not. Quoting, however, from the religious census in the 9 counties of Ulster, there are 690,134 Catholics, 451,566 Presbyterians, 48,490 Methodists, and other scattered religious denominations. The self-constituted guardians of this part of Ireland are always talking of taking care of these Presbyterians. This is wasted sympathy, for in the history of Ireland's fight for independence since the days of Hugh O'Neill down to the present time the majority of the men who have fought for Ireland's independence have been of these same Irish Presbyterians or Protestant. Wolfstone, Lord Edward Fitzgerald, O'Connor, and Emmet were all Irish Presbyterians. John Mitchell, John Philpot Curran and many other leaders were Protestants.

The only leaders that Ireland has had for generations who were Catholics were Daniel O'Connell and Redmond, and it was O'Connell's fight that won for both the Catholics and Presbyterians the right of suffrage. The great emancipation bill which freed the Catholics, freed the Presbyterians, for in the days of O'Connell, no one but the Church of England could vote or hold office, and the so-called Irish Parliament, which voted to destroy Ireland and carried the Union, was a Church of England body with not a single Catholic in it. What then becomes of the foolish statement by men who are otherwise usually intelligent that Ireland's fight for independence and throwing off of the British yoke has been a religious one? In the past 50 years and prior to the Easter rebellion many Irish Protestants, for political offenses, have been hanged, drawn and quartered, and dogs have lapped their blood in the streets of Dublin.

In Ireland's glorious future these names will not be forgotten, though they are not heroes in the sight of Sir Edward Carson or Bonar Law, they will in future generations be revered as men who would not hug the chains that bound them, nor kiss the feet that trampled upon them, content to be slaves if they could but eat and drink, for such a condition is natural asphyxia in which the breathing "of the great dumb, stupid animal alone gives evidence that it lives at all."

It was a religious question in a sense at one time, to give help to Protestants and Catholics alike, the right of suffrage, without which

men are but slaves, and this was carried by Irish Catholics and Irish Presbyterians, and the fight which is being fought out by the Irish, not only in Ireland, but in America and in Canada and in Australia and in New Zealand and in South America by the Friends of Irish Freemen, not as a religious question but as a question of right, and the tide of public opinion of the world is such that no man, no group of men, or no one nation can stop it.

As I have said on a former occasion, "Tell me what is the unseen and mystic law that claims the fidelity of the compass and keeps it ever pointing to the polar star?" Tell me this and I will tell you why Irishmen, whether they come from the golden vale of Tipperary or the picturesque hills of Connemara, whether smiling in the sunshine of prosperity or groaning under the load of adversity, are drawn to the Prince of Connla, of the Golden Hair, to

That sunny land
From druids and demons free,
The land of rest,
In the Golden West,
On the verge of the azure sea.

Some ask me the question, "What can Ireland do?" I reply, "What can England do?" She has reached the point where she must respect the wishes of over 4,000,000 people in Ireland or shoot them down with machine guns or starve them in prison. Does she dare do it? Can there be any doubt of the outcome? Germany tried it on Belgium and England will tread the same path as Germany if she persists in her course. Not only has England to respect the wishes of Ireland, but she now fully understands, I hope, what she did not in 1776, that a decent respect for the opinions of mankind bids her halt.

It is no longer a fight between Ireland and England, but a fight between England and the enlightened opinion of mankind, and she is fast learning that the world will no longer let her hide behind the false cry of protection for Ulster.

Senator MOSES. Mr. O'Flaherty, I want to ask you a question or two. You stated that in your opinion a plebiscite taken in Virginia would show a vote of four to one in favor of the freedom of Ireland?

Mr. O'FLAHERTY. No; I did not say that. I said a majority. Did I say four to one?

Senator MOSES. I so understood you.

Mr. O'FLAHERTY. I did not mean to say that.

Senator MOSES. A majority of the people of Virginia would favor the freedom of Ireland and would so express themselves?

Mr. O'FLAHERTY. I said they would if there was a plebiscite. I believe they would so declare themselves. I have never seen a Virginian yet that was not in favor of freedom, and especially the freedom of Ireland.

Senator MOSES. What attitude do you think they would take in Virginia on a plebiscite on the league of nations?

Mr. O'FLAHERTY. I would not want to answer that. If you would come around and ask me as a lawyer I would not want to answer that.

STATEMENT OF HON. W. BOURKE COCKRAN.

Judge COHALAN. Mr. Chairman, I desire now to present the last speaker of the hearing. I want to say first, a word of thanks, and to reserve the right for filing statements, which you gave some time ago, from a great many people from different parts of the country. I shall not take up further time now, except to present one of the foremost men of the country and of the Irish race, a scholar, a student of affairs, a statesman, and an orator, Hon. William Bourke Cockran, of New York.

Mr. COCKRAN. Mr. Chairman and Senators, I would like to begin by answering some questions that were propounded this morning to gentlemen who appeared here in opposition to this proposed League of Nations. One of the most important was that of Senator Borah, who asked if it were true, as some gentlemen have contended on the floor of the Senate, that if this League of Nations be established it would prove a very effective agency through which Ireland could obtain her independence. I take it that Senator Brandegee's question was put in amplification of Senator Borah's inquiry, because he said Senator Walsh made practically the same statement in the course of debate.

Senator BRANDEGEE. I did ask such a question; but I did not know that Senator Borah had previously asked it.

Mr. COCKRAN. I shall, therefore, answer both Senators together. I think that Senator Walsh supplied the answer to his own contention most effectively. He said, as I recollect, that there were three means by which a subject nation could effect its independence. One was by consent of the governing nation, the other was by revolt of the subject people themselves, the third was by outside intervention, and he claimed great credit for the proposed League of Nations, because it prohibited but one of those methods of relief, leaving the other two open and available. The objection to this position is that no nation ever did achieve its independence by consent of the dominant power, or by naked action of its own people. Every successful revolution of which I have any knowledge was effected through outside support. The American Colonies would not have been free but for the intervention of France. Cuba would still be under the domination of Spain but for the intervention of this country, and Greece would still be languishing under the heel of the Turk if it had not been for the assistance of Christendom. So that when Senator Walsh says that by this treaty subject nations are deprived of but one avenue of escape from servitude, the answer is that they are deprived of the only one through which escape can be effected.

There is another question which Senator Brandegee asked that I think ought to be answered. He inquired whether appeals are allowed from decisions by a single official committing Irish men and women to jail for long periods. At this time Ireland is practically under martial law—which means no law at all—or what is virtually its equivalent, "The defense of the realm" act. Everybody understands that martial law is suspension of law, substituting for law which is a regular fixed rule of conduct, the whim or judgment of a single official. In Ireland, under the present system, the people are governed by two whims, either one of which constitutes the rule of conduct for the population. One is the whim of the commanding

military officer, and the other is the whim of an official called a resident magistrate, apparently for the reason that he is never a resident of the locality in which he officiates. The expression, "R. M.," officially intended to signify resident magistrate, will describe him much more correctly as "removable magistrate." He is the only magistrate under the whole British system who is removable at the pleasure of the Crown. I need not remind the chairman of this body that the chief fruit gained by the revolution of 1688 was termination of the system under which judges were removable by the Crown, and under which they were, in the language of Lord Macaulay, not champions of truth and justice, but "greedy and ferocious butchers," eager to satisfy every demand of despotism.

The removable magistrate always dreads removal, and the only way to avoid it is by delivering the judgment which the prosecuting officers desire. The effect is that if a man makes a speech, as Mr. Walsh told you, advocating the Republic—nay, if he utter a word which the police dislike—he is promptly haled before either a drum-head court-martial or one of these resident magistrates and condemned without any chance of appeal to the hideous indignities which have been described so forcibly here to-day. Nothing could illustrate more strikingly the conditions against which Irishmen are in revolt than this deliberate establishment in Ireland by the English Government of a judicial system so fruitful of abuse that Englishmen themselves rose in revolution to drive it from their own country.

When conditions somewhat similar, though I do not think they were quite so onerous, existed in Cuba, the chairman of this committee, and I think many others of its members, were quick to insist that intervention to stop those outrages became a task imposed upon us by our primacy of civilization; that continuance of a government which had become perverted from its natural functions of defending peace and order to perpetrating the very outrages on justice which government is organized to prevent, was an injury to civilization which all the forces of civilization should combine to remove. And we, as chief among those forces, drew the sword and ended that abominable system in Cuba. A worse system exists to-day in Ireland. It can be terminated, as far as we can see now, by no means except the influence of this American Republic, and we are here to protest against any treaty, League of Nations, or whatever it may be called, that will exclude consideration of the monstrous conditions that afflict Ireland from the jurisdiction of the conscience of civilization, of which the Senate of the United States has always been the foremost and best exponent.

I pause for a moment to say that if there be any other Senator who wishes to ask me about present conditions in Ireland I will be very glad to answer him. If nobody cares to put a question, I shall proceed to discuss the treaty now before you purely from an American standpoint.

Mr. Chairman, the gentlemen who preceded me have all said, with great force and feeling, that while they are of the Irish race they are of American birth, and that they love above all other things the country in which they were born. I am an Irishman by birth as well as by blood. And the reason I am here is that I do not want the Government whose shelter from my earliest youth I was resolved to seek, whose benefits I have enjoyed, to be emasculated, impaired,

or destroyed, as I believe it will be, if this treaty is ratified. And in saying this I speak not alone for myself—my race is well-nigh run—but for my entire generation and the generations that are to follow. The light that inspired me and millions like me to cross the seas I hope the Senate will not suffer to be extinguished, but that through your action now it will be maintained strong and effulgent for all the children of men throughout the world.

Mr. Chairman, whether the right of this country to interfere—at least so far as to exert its moral influence—for deliverance of Ireland from conditions that are a scandal to civilization shall be preserved or whether it is to be renounced and destroyed by ratification of this treaty, is not an Irish question. It is not a question affecting solely England's domestic politics, as some gentlemen have contended. It is an international question, because it is a question affecting the peace, and, therefore, the welfare of the entire world. Judge Cohalan has told you there can be no peace throughout the world until Irish discontent is composed. This is not—as many might say—a mere expression of exaggerated rhetoric. It is the sober, accurate statement of a fact which all history attests.

It is certainly one fact of history which none can dispute that every great war which became general—every one became general by England's entrance into it—and which has scourged the world for the last four centuries, that is to say since the emergence of modern civilization from the wreck of feudalism, has had its beginning in Ireland—every one, without exception.

This last war which has just closed, we all know was caused by the German Emperor's belief that civil commotions in Ireland made 1914 the period when he could strike his long-meditated blow for world dominion, with the strongest hope of success. The great wars of the French Revolution which culminated in the Napoleonic wars, began with representations of the united Irishmen through Wolfe Tone to the revolutionary government in France that the conditions then prevailing in Ireland—brought about by the deliberate recall of Lord Fitzwilliam and the refusal of concessions which had been promised to the Irish people—had made the land ripe for rebellion. The hostile manifestations by the French people and their government which these representations provoked, were the chief causes that led Pitt reluctantly to join the alliance against France. The attempt of Hoche's expedition to land in Ireland, which was frustrated when his ships were blown by a gale out of Bantry Bay in 1796, marked the real beginning of that desperate struggle between England and France, which after ravaging Europe for a generation ended at Waterloo. At the close of the seventeenth century, it was the intervention of Louis XIV in aid of the Irish attempt to maintain James II in possession of his crown which brought about the Grand Alliance against him, that afterwards as the war of the Spanish succession plunged Europe in the disastrous conflict that was settled by the peace of Utrecht. The great war between Elizabeth and Philip II of Spain for control of the seas began with a descent of Spanish and Portugese soldiers on the coast of Kerry, who were all killed to a man after they had surrendered to Sir Walter Raleigh, and whose massacre is the only cloud on the fame of that knightliest figure among Elizabethan warriors.

Why is it that every world war, if not actually caused by Irish discontent, has yet made Ireland the theater of its first beginnings? This can not be due to a mere fortuitous combination of circumstances. My purpose is to show that the condition of Ireland has been a constant invitation to every country with a grievance against England to strike her at that spot where she was believed to be vulnerable, and where she will continue to be vulnerable just so long as the oppressions against which the Irish people have struggled for eight centuries are suffered to exist. So that the Irish question is not a matter that affects England and Ireland alone, and one which therefore can be called domestic. It is one that has affected the peace of the world for four centuries and which will continue to affect it—in the very nature of things—so long as it is permitted to remain an open sore in the side of Christendom. To compose this difficulty and settle it is a task imposed upon the statesmanship of civilization, and, therefore, it rests peculiarly on your shoulders, Senators, charged as you are at this moment with responsibility for the conditions under which peace is to be reestablished throughout the civilized world.

Probably the greatest difficulty in dealing with the Irish question is to understand just what it is. It has been so misrepresented—and by the greatest masters of ingenuity in misrepresentation that the world has ever seen—that many men, ordinarily well informed, are in doubt as to just what it is that causes the Irish complaints. We are told that other countries have been conquered as Ireland has been, and yet they have long since ceased to complain of the conquest, or even to think about it. We are told that Irish grievances are fanciful, not real; that they are not caused by injuries which are actual, but by recollection of ancient injuries springing from laws which have long since been repealed. We are told that Ulster is prosperous and contented while the rest of Ireland is discontented and poor because its people are improvident, shiftless, idle; and that this demand for Irish independence merely embodies—while it disguises—the desire of an improvident, shiftless, idle majority to obtain—and abuse—the power of taxation over a thrifty and prosperous Irish minority.

It is also said that there is a religious question involved; that Ireland's refusal to acknowledge the authority of England is but the intolerance entertained by one religious sect against another—the disposition of Catholics to oppress and drive Protestants from the country. These, I think, are all the grounds on which are based opposition to recognition of the Irish republic. They are set forth in a brief submitted to this committee by certain persons claiming to speak for Irish Unionists, which I have just been permitted to read. Now, if these statements are true, if Ireland has been reduced to its present condition by the faults or vices of her own people, sympathy for them would be useless. They are incapable of improvement. They must inevitably disappear from the earth which they encumber and discredit. But if the evils which afflict the Irish people be the direct result of laws which have produced intolerable conditions, that still exist although the laws themselves have been repealed, and if it be true that England has shown she is incapable of doing justice in Ireland, even when a majority of the English people are really anxious that it should be done, and the English Parliament solemnly resolved to do it, then there can be but one outcome. Either English rule in Ireland must be ended or the Irish people must be exterminated.

That is the alternative, I think it is entirely capable of demonstration that the Irish people can not be exterminated, and extermination being impossible, emancipation is imperative.

Let me explain to you why it is that although these oppressive laws have all been repealed, the conditions they produced still continue. All the history of Ireland ever since the first Norman invasion has been an unbroken record of conquests, and seizure of lands—first the devastation of land always followed by confiscation. But neither conquests nor confiscation sufficed to keep the country permanently impoverished. From the first landing of Strongbow in 1172 down to the final overthrow of Irish independence by William III, the Irish people after each invasion and devastation restored prosperity with a celerity and completeness that have been marvels to all historians.

Mountjoy, under Elizabeth, reported to the Queen that everything capable of supporting life in Ireland had been burned to the roots, that the whole Irish population had been exterminated, except a few fugitives who had taken refuge in morasses where they could not be reached, but where, for lack of food, they must inevitably starve. And yet in the very next reign Ireland was blooming like a garden. In the time of Charles I the prosperity of Ireland had already awakened the envy and cupidity of Englishmen; but the Irish, with that peculiar sense of loyalty, which is one of their characteristics—often misdirected because carried to excess—having embraced the side of the King, fell under the vengeance of Cromwell. Again the island was devastated with fire and sword. The whole of the land east of the Shannon was confiscated. The entire native population outside of many thousands who were slain, and other thousands sold into captivity, was transported west of the Shannon to a soil which was believed to be so sterile that it could not afford subsistence to human life. Cromwell's brief statement of his policy was that the Irish must go "to hell or to Connaught." Well, they went to Connaught, but they did not go to hell [laughter], because there was always one Irish champion whom, some way or other, the British arms could never overcome, and that was the Irish girl. Any Englishman who received land and settled upon it soon fell under her influence. That was already so clearly apparent in the time of Richard II that he passed the statute of Kilkenny forbidding any Englishman who had received land in Ireland from marrying an Irish woman. But the Irish girl was too strong for statutes. She continued to marry the English settler in the teeth of all prohibitions, and the offspring of those marriages were the strongest Irish patriots.

Although the land had been laid waste with a fury hardly ever paralleled in the annals of mankind by the English Parliamentary forces, first under Cromwell and after him under Ireton and Ludlow, yet when William III in the next generation faced a patriot Irish army, a large part of it was composed of the sons of those Ironsides to whom Cromwell granted land in Ireland. After that dreadful Cromwellian devastation the recovery of her prosperity by Ireland in the reign of Charles II is declared by Macaulay to be the marvel of all history. It is acknowledged even by Fronde—who will not be suspected of any partiality toward Ireland—that in the reign of Charles II practically the entire transportation of goods by sea from the Old World to the New was carried on in Irish bottoms. Irish cattle and horses commanded the highest prices in English markets, and Irish woollen products were considered to be the very finest in the world.

Almost immediately after his accession this king for whose father Ireland had incurred the resentment and fury of Cromwell, yielding to representations by merchants of Bristol, excluded Ireland from the operation of the navigation act. The effect of this was a total destruction of the Irish shipping trade, from which it has never recovered. Next, in obedience to a demand of English agricultural interests, exportation of Irish cattle and horses to England was prohibited. That reduced property in livestock to one-tenth of its former value. But the woolen industry remained, and probably from the fact that the energies of the country were now mainly directed to it, and the whole capital of the nation largely absorbed in it, the manufacture of Irish cloth expanded to a degree unapproached in any other country of the world.

But when William III finally established his authority by the victories of Aughrim and the Boyne, and by his treason at Limerick the surrender of which he accepted on terms that permitted the garrison to march out of the city and the country, while at the same time guaranteeing to the Irish people the right to practice their faith, prosecute their trade and retain their property—a treaty that was violated the moment the Irish army had departed from Ireland), then the system was adopted which Edmund Burke has described in words probably familiar to every one of you. He said the Irish penal code was *“as well fitted for the oppression, impoverishment and degradation of a feeble people and the debasement in them of human nature as has ever proceeded from the perverted ingenuity of man.”* That system produced the conditions which to-day afflict and distress the Irish people and which can be ended only by ending the dominion of England over the country.

After all former confiscations and devastations the country recovered rapidly because the people were allowed to resume possession of the land. But the devilishly ingenious system adopted by William III and his immediate successors precluded any possibility of an Irishman being able to obtain any part of the land on which he lived.

A succession of statutes enacted during 50 years resulted in a body of laws under which no Catholic—that is to say no native Irishman—could hold land. The whole surface of the island had been confiscated. The original owners of the soil were allowed to dwell upon it merely as tenants at will. The confiscated lands were not bestowed, as in former cases, upon English soldiers who settled in Ireland, but upon favorites of the English court in large areas of 5,000, 10,000, 15,000 and even 30,000 acres, who never lived in Ireland, who never intended to live in it, who seldom if ever visited it. Every Catholic was prohibited not merely from holding land but from leasing it for a period longer than 5 years. He could not own a horse worth over 5 pounds. If a Catholic appeared in a public place mounted on a horse any Protestant could take possession of the animal by tendering the rider a 5-pound note. Beyond impoverishing the Irish people it was sought to accomplish their degradation by forbidding the education of youth. The only element of the community capable at that time of imparting education was the clergy, and the priest who taught a school was declared guilty of a capital offense. The spectacle was common of a priest's dead body hanging in chains, executed for no other offense than that of having undertaken to instruct an Irish

boy. Not content with seeking to accomplish the intellectual degradation of the people these statutes sought to corrupt their morals by undermining the foundations of the family. The son who accused the father of being a Catholic and proved it could at once take possession of the estate. The wife who informed on her husband was at once accorded a separate and independent interest in his property. So that wifely loyalty and filial piety; every emotion which in civilized countries is considered necessary to the well-being of a community, and therefore to be encouraged by government, was perverted in Ireland to the injury of morals and the disruption of society.

Under this system the people hardly ever came in contact with the owners of the soil. In almost every instance an agent represented the alien landlord. The value and efficiency of that agent were determined by the amount of rent which he could extort from the unfortunate occupants of the land. If a man by dint of arduous labor improved the soil he occupied and made it more valuable, the agent at once descended upon him and raised the rent. Not merely were all the fruits of his own labor confiscated but all his neighbors were promptly informed that unless they made their soil equally fruitful and raised the same amount of crops, that is to say, paid the same rent, they would be evicted. And eviction was death. Not merely was industry made unprofitable by this hellish system; it was made unpopular. The laborious man did not benefit himself, but he brought disaster upon his whole neighborhood. The unfortunates who were evicted were left to starve on the highways. There was no other occupation in which they could find a livelihood because, by a refinement or cruelty that is almost inconceivable, the only industry that survived the hostile legislation of Charles II—the woolen industry—was entirely destroyed by William III. It was not taxed out of existence. It was not made to bear burdens imposed avowedly for support of the State, which prevented it from being prosperous. It was prohibited absolutely and unconditionally. All existing factories were suppressed and the people were forbidden, under heavy penalties, from attempting to engage in the woolen trade. More than that, the Irish wool, at that time—the Australian wool not yet having become available for the world's necessities—was of a peculiarly valuable character. Not merely was the manufacture of woolen goods prohibited in Ireland but exportation of Irish wool was prohibited to any place except six English cities, the idea being that the English manufacturers by these restraints would be enabled to obtain Irish wool on his own terms. But there was an extensive woolen industry in the low countries where a great demand arose for Irish wool as soon as its manufacture was suppressed in Ireland.

Wool that would bring 6 pence at Bristol commanded 1 shilling and 7 pence in Ypres and in other Flemish towns. Quite naturally smuggling of Irish wool to the Continent became one of the chief occupations of the Irish people. But the worst feature of this oppressive measure was not the loss of money or of property that it entailed. It was this: Wool being contraband, trade in it could not be prosecuted through bills of exchange and other devices of banking which govern commerce. It could only be bartered for some commodity not easily discovered, for everywhere the Irish coast was patrolled by British officers charged with the duty of preventing smuggling where they could, and punishing the smugglers where prevention

was impossible. Wool was exchanged mainly for Flemish wines. This extensive importation of wines was the cause and the beginning of that intemperance that has been the curse, Senator [turning to Senator Phelan], of your country and of mine, of your race and mine, for 250 years. Before the beginning of the seventeenth century the Irish were a temperate race. But the example of the well-to-do consuming expensive wines soon caused a demand for coarser and cheaper intoxicants by the less prosperous. To meet this demand the manufacture of illicit whisky became extensive and the people gradually sank into that dreadful intemperance from which they have suffered both at home and abroad ever since. Mr. Chairman, the curse of this intemperance has been Ireland's, the shame of it is England's.

I am not saying this on my own authority. Here again, sir, I am quoting from James Anthony Froude—the apologist of English excesses in Ireland—who, indeed, seems to complain that if these enormities had gone further the race would have been exterminated and the Irish question settled finally and without appeal.

Now it is quite true that these proscriptive laws have all been repealed. They began to disappear in the latter half of the eighteenth century. And it is to the credit and glory of this country that their disappearance began when fugitive Irishmen—Presbyterians who fled from the enforcement of the test acts and settled in Pennsylvania, and Catholics who had fled from other parts of the Island—were found fighting side by side under the banner of Washington for freedom, justice, and right. Up to that time religious proscriptions were not confined to Ireland. They were universal. They were based on the assumption that anything like diversity of religious faith among the people of a State weakened it, and therefore, it should be prevented by the Government. The Huguenots were placed under serious disabilities in France, so were the Catholics in England. But in Ireland it was the distinctive feature of these proscriptive measures that they were not intended to discourage Catholicism or encourage Protestantism, but to degrade the whole people by plunging them into ignorance, and by corrupting every avenue through which could be reinforced those virtues and qualities that are considered essential to the well-being of every State. In Ireland the faith professed by the people was proscribed with a violence which nowadays can hardly be understood. And this fact must be borne in mind when you consider the Irish question. It is the only country in the world where the people have remained steadfast to a faith that had been proscribed. In every other country the people adopted in a body the religion that its Government established. England became almost uniformly Protestant, or at least non-Catholic under Henry VIII; almost uniformly Catholic again under Queen Mary; Protestant once more under Queen Elizabeth; and it was ready for another change to Catholicism—according to the historians—if James II had but governed with a little more sense. And so the religious complexion of the French people was decided by the result of the religious wars.

But in Ireland the majority of the people remained immovably attached to the faith that was proscribed and prohibited under drastic penalties, though they had to sacrifice for it not merely every element of property they possessed but every hope of improving their

condition. The extraordinary thing about their tenacity in this respect is that it was maintained, without those aids to fervor which the Catholic liturgy affords. Such a thing as a great religious ceremonial had not occurred in the country, at the time of which we are speaking, for 150 years. Their lands confiscated, their faith proscribed, they practiced the rites of their church crouching in garrets and hiding in out-houses. Driven from the towns and villages, they took refuge in some mountain glen, and there, under the broad canopy of heaven, the rains falling on them, oftentimes knee-deep in mud, with sentinels posted at each end of the glen watching for the priest hunter, who was an established feature of these conditions, all cotemporary writers agree in saying they worshipped with a fervor never shown in the stateliest cathedral ever raised by the hands of piety to the worship of God. Even after they had regained the right to practice their faith it has been remarked that they showed very little regard for its ceremonials. But nothing could swerve them from attachment to its tenets and teachings. And as they remained immovably attached to their faith, so also have they always been unswervingly steadfast in maintaining their national life. It is a peculiar feature of this determination to maintain their national existence that it does not seem to be based on any hope for the future. This is clearly reflected in their poetry, which is perhaps the most melancholy in the world, as it certainly is among the most beautiful. I am one of those who believe that sorrow has always been the source of exquisite poetry. I have never known a sublime note to be inspired by prosperity. Not merely is there a vein of profound melancholy through all Irish poetry, but it never expresses any hope for the future. Yet there is never a note of despair in it. Every line of it breathes the determination of Irishmen to love the old sod, maintain the old faith, preserve the old race, though they never again should see the light of freedom. Moore describing the Harp of Tara, silent, abandoned, the chord alone that breaks during the night, telling the tale of its ruin, concludes:

Thus Freedom now so seldom speaks,
The only throb she gives,
Is when some heart indignant breaks,
To show that still she lives.

Freedom has indeed lived in the hearts of Irishmen under all circumstances; under the darkest skies without any hope of deliverance. Even when there was no chance for Irish arms to fight for it, there was always an Irish heart ready to break for it. Freedom, though denied them as a possession, has always remained an aspiration from which they never could be separated. Such a people can not be seduced from their ideals nor diverted from asserting their right to nationhood. Such a people can not be subdued, and, therefore, Senators, I submit to you with all frankness and perfect confidence that the only alternative which the Irish question presents is extermination or emancipation of the Irish people. You Senators, to whom is confided the treaty-making power of this Government, will not suffer the destruction of such a race as this, and if you will not suffer it to be destroyed, then you must insist that it be free. There is no alternative. [Applause.]

Now, with respect to the religious question: It can not be denied that Ireland has been torn by religious antagonism. But the cause of this is perfectly simple. And it should be remembered that whenever the Irish succeeded in establishing control over the government of their own country, as they did at intervals—in 1642 and again in 1688—the first act of the Catholics when they became dominant was to declare absolute religious freedom for all. The reason why religious antagonisms have divided the Irish people is because in that country religion was made the test of political rights and property rights. When a man could be ousted of his property because he was a Catholic (and that by a person bound to him by the closest ties of kinship); when a man could be deprived of the horse he rode by a total stranger on the tender of a 5-pound note because he was a Catholic; when he was excluded from every office under his government and denied the right even to educate his child because he did not profess the faith established by law, it was inevitable that the victims of such oppression and the beneficiaries of it would be influenced by hostility against each other.

I should add here, in order to explain why Ulster was prosperous while the rest of the country sank into misery growing ever deeper, that a totally different system of laws prevailed in the one place from that which governed the other. In Ulster, ever since its "plantation" by James I, there was in force what is called "Ulster Tenant Right." Under it the occupant of the soil could till it and improve it with a certainty that every improvement he made was his property to enjoy it while he remained in occupation.

The landlords had no longer any inducement to remain in the country. Again they became absentees, and the remarkable prosperity produced by that short period of independence was changed to a long, unbroken period of progressive decay. Again the rack-renting agent drew from the soil everything which it yielded beyond what sufficed to afford its cultivators the barest subsistence. And for this chance to live there was the fiercest competition among the members of the wretched population, each one eagerly bidding against all others for the privilege of cultivating the land upon any terms whatever. Under this competition conditions of life sank so low that the Irish peasant never tasted meat from one year's end to the other. The potato became the sole support of his existence. And when in the years of '46 and '47 there was a general failure of the potato crop throughout Europe it was a source of loss to the people in other countries, but in Ireland it caused actual starvation. We often hear of the "famine" in Ireland. But strictly speaking there was no famine. While the people were dying by hundreds of thousands for lack of food, there passed before their eyes along the highways droves of cattle, wagons laden with foodstuffs, all products of their own labor sent out of the country to be sold and the proceeds paid to alien landlords.

In any other country in the world these abundant supplies would have been seized and the people would have used them to avert hunger. In Ireland an exaggerated sense of property led the people to perish of starvation rather than take what according to law belonged to the landlord. But it is said, Ireland is governed by exactly the same law as England with respect to land. Quite true, but the

conditions established under these laws in the two countries are widely different. The English landlord always lives upon his estate, the Irish landlord seldom if ever. The English landlord has always held himself to be the chief of an industrial family, the head of a great industrial organization, dividing the whole product of the soil with those who have aided in cultivating it.

I know of nothing more impressive in civilized life than the manner in which these English lords of the soil exercise their ownership over it for the benefit of the people who cultivate it and for the glory of their country. The manor house which to many casual observers is a mere abode of elegant luxury is actually to the great agricultural organization of which its owner is the head, what the countinghouse is to a factory. From it the landlord directs all the energies of his tenants and dependents. This landlord is never "off his job" for a moment. Even in his amusements he is always discharging his duty, fulfilling his task.

We often hear of the claret-drinking, fox-hunting squire, as though his whole life were devoted to the consumption of wine and the hunting of foxes, and he does spend a good part of his time in these agreeable occupations. [Laughter.] But when he is hunting over his own fields and those of his neighbors he is scrutinizing his fences and the condition of his farmers' and laborers' cottages and comparing them with conditions existing on the estates of other landlords. When he is shooting he may be conscious of nothing except a desire to kill partridge or snipe, but to reach this game he must walk through the stubble in which the birds are concealed and there he is necessarily informed of the manner in which the field is cultivated by his tenant. If the fences are broken, cultivation of the field inefficient, cottages dropping into decay, the tenant is required to explain. If that tenant can show that he is not responsible for these conditions and could not avoid them the landlord himself always feels bound to repair them. If, for instance, the tenant by reason of a large and growing family finds himself unable to continue paying the rent he had previously paid, no English landlord would ever think of evicting him. The opinion of his own order would forbid it. To throw a deserving man out on the highway who for reasons beyond his control was no longer able to pay his rent would be an offense against his obligations as a gentleman, almost worse than cheating at cards. But while public opinion in England makes the landlord a trustee for the benefit of those who under his direction cultivate the soil, the Irish landlord, who seldom lived in the country or saw his property, was under no restraint whatever in dealing with his tenants. His sole object was to obtain and enjoy the uttermost penny that his agent could extort from them. And thus it came to pass that the very same man—and I am speaking now, Mr. Chairman, of matters within my own knowledge—who in England is the very embodiment of paternal care for his tenants, would suffer an estate owned by him in Ireland to be administered with a ruthless cruelty which produced conditions difficult for us to conceive in this country. The absentee Irish landlord, though he was oppressive, was not always consciously cruel in the treatment of his tenants. The system made him a tyrant or at least tempted him to tyranny even when he himself was naturally well disposed.

One man of my own acquaintance who is still living, and who occupies a very prominent position to-day in English public life, the younger son of a great noble, became a naval officer and received from his father when he came of age, a property that yielded about £1,000 a year. This property which he had never seen was managed by an agent. He went on the turf and in the course of a few weeks the thousand pounds which constituted his annual income passed from his pockets into those of enterprising bookmakers. As was usual with Irish landlords living out of the country, he wrote a letter to his agent asking if he could not send him some more money. The agent answered that the income from his property might easily be doubled. "Why the mischief then don't you double it," he asked. "I want to be sure," the agent answered, "that I will be sustained." Now this man is quite an extraordinary person, gifted with a mind singularly effective in analysis. Concluding from the agent's statement that there was something about the matter which needed explanation, he resolved to visit the estate and ascertain for himself the real condition. The agent met him and escorted him over the property, showing him various farms for which the rentals paid he said were entirely inadequate, and finally reached one which seemed to be particularly well kept and prosperous. "There," said the agent, "is one of the best farms on the estate. It is easily worth 2 guineas an acre, and all that the tenant pays for it is 2 and 6 pence." When the landlord asked why the higher rental was not obtained for it the agent answered that when rentals had been raised on Irish estates the agents always incurred bitter enmity. This they were prepared to face, but they had not always been sustained by their principals. And this particular agent before he took any steps to increase rentals wanted to be assured that he would be supported by the landlord in any trouble that might ensue.

Now, this particular landlord from his entrance into the naval service, had always made it a rule when anything under his authority went wrong to go and ascertain the cause of it for himself. Even after he rose to be an admiral—I may as well say that the man of whom I speak is Lord Charles Beresford—if an engine on any ship of his fleet was reported out of order he never contented himself with sending an engineer officer to find out what was the matter. He always ordered a boat lowered and went and ascertained it himself. And so when the agent made this statement about the farm renting at what appeared to be such an extraordinarily low rate Lord Charles concluded that he would go and see the tenant personally and get his side of the matter. The following morning he appeared at the cottage door and was welcomed by the occupant, whose name I think was Monahan. To enter a house in Ireland no introduction is necessary. Anyone who appears on the threshold is sure of a cordial reception. After exchanging a few pleasant words with Mr. Monahan, Lord Charles made some observations on the excellence of the farm. Now, an Irishman who receives congratulations on the farm he occupies always discerns in the compliment a potential, if not probable rise of rental. And so when Lord Charles asked him how it happened that he only paid 2 and 6 pence an acre for land easily worth 2 guineas, the tenant said, "And may I ask, sir, why you busy yourself about my farm, or the rent I pay?" Whereupon Lord Charles said, "I am your landlord." And then this man, well-nigh

80 years of age, broke down and wept like a child. The dread stroke, which every Irish tiller of the soil who has made it productive always apprehends, seemed to have fallen. In piteous accents he sobbed, "Oh, my lord, for the love of God, don't take the farm from me. It is true I am paying but 2 and 6 pence an acre for it, but when I came here that land was not worth 6 pence an acre. The value it has to-day is the result of work put into it by me and my boys during the last 50 years." Four sons, the oldest nearly 50, the youngest over 40 years of age, had all spent their lives in helping him to effect this improvement. "My lord," he said, "I will give you half of it, I will pay 1 guinea an acre, but let me keep the rest," and Lord Charles said, "No, Mr. Monahan, I am sorely in need of money but I would have to be much harder up before I could take away from you the fruits of your life work and of your four sons. Keep your farm at 2 and 6 pence an acre as long as you live."

Now, suppose this particular landlord had not taken the trouble to ascertain for himself just how his agent could have increased the rentals of his property, that tenant and his four sons would have been evicted, turned out on the road to die, unless they could obtain enough money to buy a passage to this country. And in just that way and under just such conditions hundreds of thousands—aye, millions—of Irishmen, victims of this accursed system, have been driven from their own hearthstone to seek asylums in this country and other lands beyond the sea. But their love of Ireland instead of diminishing, grew deeper by absence from the soil. That love they have transmitted to their children, and to their children's children, many of whom have never seen the country which they love with an ardor that is unquenchable. It is this greater Ireland beyond the seas which rises now to denounce that accursed system before the bar of public opinion throughout the world. The conscience of Christendom has already decreed that the system must end. And I pray, Senators, that you will not, by ratifying the treaty, prevent the United States from proving itself, through all the years to come, as it has been in the years that are past, the most effective agent in enforcing the decrees of civilization in favor of liberty and justice.

So you see the conditions produced by the abhorrent laws of the eighteenth century have continued down to the present day. The laws themselves have been repealed but the conditions they produced remain. It is true that in law Irishmen can now purchase property and hold it without any disqualification on the ground of religion. But practically land in Ireland was, until very recent years, absolutely unattainable; first, because the Irishmen, excluded from all avenues of productive industry for generations, had not the capital wherewith to purchase land. And if by any chance he became possessed of sufficient means to purchase land, it was a point of honor among the landlords not to sell. Thus conditions originally produced by law have been perpetuated through custom. They continued unbroken until the Wyndham act of 1902 was passed.

The results produced by that measure before the war were amply sufficient to convince the most skeptical that the wonderful industrial efficiency which enabled the Irish, after every devastation of their country, to restore prosperity in an incredibly short space of time so long as they were allowed to regain access to their soil, had not

deserted them or diminished in the slightest degree. Just consider for a moment the immediate effects of that legislation. Remember that by this measure the Irish land was not taken from the landlord and given to the tenants without compensation of any kind as it had been originally taken from its occupiers. It was taken at a high valuation, and after this high valuation had been fixed by mutual consent 12 per cent in addition was given to the sellers as a bonus. That was all charged upon the land, the occupier of which was empowered to take possession and to become the absolute owner on paying the total amount of the purchase price in installments extending over 62 years—I think that was the number of years. Under that law one-half of the land of Ireland passed into ownership of its occupiers. The transfer involved some twelve hundred thousand transactions. And, what absolutely seems to transcend the possibilities of human capacity, there was not a single default, so far as I know, in fulfilling any of these agreements. Never in the history of man have transactions on a scale so stupendous occurred without a single breach of agreement.

Not merely was the letter of every agreement observed by the Irish, but they cultivated the soil thus restored to them with such energy and efficiency that by 1914 they had already effected a wonderful revolution in their condition. The cabins—the hideous, noisome cabins which I myself remember, in which we would not suffer a pig to exist now, where human beings, 9 and 10 in number, and animals, if they were lucky enough to have a pig or two, dwelt together promiscuously under a few sods placed against an upright pole, an open space at the top allowing smoke from turf and such articles as they burned, to escape—have all disappeared. Decent white-washed cottages have replaced them. Implements of industry are kept in excellent order. I never saw better horses anywhere than in Ireland while I motored through it in 1913. It seemed as if the Irish people were once more on the very threshold of a prosperity such as had blessed the land between 1782 and 1800—the monuments of which are those beautiful buildings that ornament the city of Dublin to the admiration of visitors from every part of the world.

At this time while prosperity was returning apace, and prospects brightening steadily, the British Government undertook to pass a measure of home rule, encouraged doubtless by the excellent use which the Irish people had been making of their land. This measure did not in fact provide for home rule at all. The body it proposed to create was not a parliament, but a commission to propose measures for the English Parliament. Certain subjects were relegated to this new body but the power of the English Parliament over it was supreme—so complete that not merely was the right reserved to set aside any act which the Irish Parliament might pass but where that parliament had acted on a subject entirely within its jurisdiction the British Parliament was free to pass a different act, and this act of the Imperial Body was to prevail as the supreme law of the land. Here surely was a measure which the most radical English opponent of Irish home rule could well have afforded to accept. Though it did not establish an Irish Government in any sense of the word yet the Irish representatives who then appeared to speak for the majority of the people, accepted it. And there was every reason to believe

that its enactment might effect a complete settlement of this difficulty which for centuries had disturbed the peace of mankind. But a number of Ulsterites encouraged by leading politicians of England (openly by all the Tories and secretly by many of the so-called Liberals) resolved to resist by arms the establishment of anything resembling a government in Ireland even though the limitations of its powers reduced it to little more than a shadow or simulacrum of government. These men were among the most prominent of the community. They organized regiments, paraded them in public reviews and audaciously imported 100,000 stands of arms to be employed against the British Government if it undertook to enforce a home rule act.

Mr. Carson, who had been a high official of the crown, organized what he called a provisional government and one, F. E. Smith, who is not an Irishman, who has not a drop of Irish blood in his veins, who had no connection whatever by blood or property with the island, came over to Belfast, visited various places in Ulster and joined in arrangements to resist establishment of home rule. After this rebellion had been proclaimed and its forces actually organized, the Irish nationalists, who, mind you, were maintaining in office, the British Government then in power (it did not command a majority in parliament, except by the votes of Irish members) undertook to organize a volunteer force for the purpose of supporting enforcement of the home rule measure. And then what happened? This Government, maintained in office by Irish votes, forbade by proclamation admission of arms into Ireland, after the Ulsterites had obtained arms sufficient to equip the regiments they had organized for rebellion but before the nationalists volunteers were able to obtain any military equipment whatever. But even this did not satisfy these audacious rebels. Disregarding the proclamation of the Government and flouting its authority they brought a cargo of arms into an Irish port and were suffered to land them without molestation or interference. Their defiance of authority was in fact treated as an excellent joke and became a subject of laughter. Gun running promised to become the favorite sport of these chartered rebels—chartered by the very Government they were defying. But when the nationalists undertook to bring in a cargo of arms the British soldiery appeared upon the spot and with bayonet and bullet prevented them from landing a single rifle, shooting down women and children who happened to be spectators. And so sedition was preached and practised with impunity in Ulster while Irish nationalist volunteers when they attempted to sustain the Government were prosecuted and dispersed by order of the very men they kept in office. But even that was not all.

Under a new development of the British constitution a measure may become law notwithstanding its rejection by the House of Lords after it has been enacted three times in the House of Commons. This home rule bill had been enacted once, and while the second enactment was in progress the military authorities—not the volunteers—but the regularly organized military forces of the Empire encamped at Kildare—were notified that possible violence in Ulster might require intervention by the soldiery to overcome it. And forthwith all the high officers, with the exception of Gen. Paget, resigned their commis-

sions and announced they would not draw their swords to maintain the authority of their Government because it would be drawing them in behalf of a cause which the Irish people supported and against the Ulsterites who were their personal friends and with whose openly proclaimed intention to resist by arms the operation of a law enacted by the British Parliament they were in full sympathy. And these mutinous officers, instead of being court-martialed, degraded, discharged, and shot, were not even questioned. Not merely were they suffered to retain their commissions, but most of them were actually advanced to higher commands.

Can you wonder at what followed? The Great War came on. Mr. Redmond, acting for the nationalists, pledged the Irish people to support the British cause. I think he made a capital mistake when he said, that the Irish people would be satisfied to wait for enforcement of the home rule bill after the war was over. However, this may be, certain it is that when the enlistments opened Irishmen went to the colors in great numbers. The nationalist leaders asked that these Irish soldiers be performed separately so that such deeds of valor as they accomplished would redound to the glory of their race. The request was denied. They were drafted into various regiments and companies. But wherever the fortunes of war were desperate and the casualties heaviest there Irishmen were found in numbers far in excess of the proportion they bore to the entire body of the British soldiery. And though they suffered heavier losses than any other men in the English service, their sacrifices were allowed to pass unrewarded and indeed unnoticed.

But worse was to follow. While Irish nationalists were dying by thousands under the British colors, repeating the sacrifices and services of their ancestors at Flanders a century earlier, it was resolved by the British Government to arrest the leaders of the nationalist volunteers and seize such arms as might be found in their possession. That purpose having become known it provoked immediate spontaneous resistance. Without preparation or opportunity to rally even the scanty force they could command these Irishmen arose in revolt. Numbering less than 2,000 they held two entire British divisions at bay for over a week. And when, after a display of gallantry at which the world has wondered, and without having committed any excesses as their bitterest enemies acknowledged they laid down their arms, the leaders (some 17 in number), were shot in cold blood. These men were the very flower of Irish life. The officials who took the lead in butchering them or in directing their butchery were the very men who had themselves preached rebellion and resistance to the Government. Once more the very best in the land, men of resplendent genius, of virtue personal and civic, absolutely unspotted and untarnished, were slaughtered, and over their dead bodies the basest were rising to conspicuous positions. The same accursed system that raised Emmet to the scaffold and Norbury to the peerage has in these days sent the brightest ornaments of Irish life to stand before a firing squad, and raised to the English woolsack the man who had counselled the course these victims pursued.

Now this simple narrative of facts which we all remember, demonstrates, it seems to me beyond a question, the absolute incapacity of England to do justice in Ireland. Everywhere else her rule may be

beneficent. In her own country she maintains a government certainly better than any other in Europe. Many think it the best in the world. But in Ireland, by the confession of everyone, her own statesmen included, her attempt to govern the country has been the most wretched failure in the whole range of human annals. The reason for it is plain. It arises from a difficulty that is insuperable. For nearly 250 years all legislation in Ireland has proceeded on the assumption that the Ulsterite is a superior being, and that all other Irishmen are his inferiors. This, though fantastically absurd, is not to be wondered at. Because you can not very well rob a man and then admit that he is your equal or that he is possessed of any merit whatever. You must admit and declare him unfit to enjoy either liberty or property at the same time that you despoil him in order to justify the spoilation. English writers and politicians are driven in self-defense to contend that the Irish are a shiftless, worthless, thriftless race, the Ulsterites embodiments of industrial efficiency and frugality. In support of the misrepresentation they quote the prosperity of Ulster, always omitting to point out that it enjoyed the essential conditions of prosperous commerce while the rest of Ireland was excluded from them. The different treatment always extended by British Government (no matter what party controlled it) to the different parts of Ireland, can not be explained upon any other theory. Remember, it was not only English Tories who have discriminated against one set of Irishmen in favor of the other. Liberal Englishmen have done it in even a more marked degree. It was a so-called liberal government kept in office by Irish votes that persecuted and suppressed the Irish nationalist volunteers who sought to support the measure of the British Government and encouraged the Ulsterite recalcitrants who proclaimed their intention to rebel against a law which aimed to do a faint measure of justice in Ireland.

All of which shows conclusively that England can not do justice in Ireland. She is absolutely incapable of it. Even when she has tried to do it, she has failed signally and dismally. I believe that the majority of the English people were really anxious to establish home rule in Ireland before the war. They had voted in favor of it. Their representatives in Parliament enacted it, and yet when it came to putting it in operation forces too strong for the Government were able to prevent it.

And all of this, Senators, I believe, leads to one conclusion. Ireland must be released from this incubus. She must be delivered from this body of death, called English rule. She can not continue to exist under it. She will not. She would not deserve to exist if she accepted these conditions of degradation. She will never accept them. Her whole history shows that. There is no way in which her national spirit can be quenched. Efforts the most ruthless, backed by the utmost power of England continued through centuries, have failed to destroy Ireland's nationality. All the leagues of nations which might be formed on this earth could not keep Ireland submissive to this wrong. Thank God for it. In saying that for Ireland, I think I can say as much for America, too. [Applause.] I do not believe all the powers on earth, organized in a league of nations or otherwise, could keep America submissive under a wrong. [Applause.] I do not believe

there is any chance that America will be reduced to a position where her people must revolt against her Government in order that justice may remain their birthright. And, therefore, I am as certain as I can be of anything that this treaty will be rejected, root and branch, as an abomination which the American people can not take to their bosoms. There is but one thing necessary now to effect the emancipation of Ireland and the regeneration of the world. It is that we acknowledge and recognize the simplicities of the situation which this war has created, as Senator Knox described them yesterday, and then govern our course by this infallible guide. What is it that the world needs? Everyone will answer, "Peace." Of course, it is. But, what is peace?

Peace is not merely the removal of contending armies from the field of battle. It means deliverance of the nation from the preoccupation and obsession of wasteful preparations for war. For years before the late conflict began the world was practically in a state of war. It was paying the price of war. Notwithstanding a great increase in the production of commodities prices instead of falling were rising. This increase in the cost of living could be accounted for on no basis except the tremendous expense of supporting 5,000,000 of men in the very flower of their productive efficiency idle in barracks and equipping them with the weapons which would make them effective in battle. That was a terrible burden before the war. But now if that burden is to continue it must destroy or at least imperil the solvency of the entire world. And an insolvent world must necessarily be a starving world.

Remember that during the 100 years of peace which followed Waterloo there was an enormous growth of population. That growth was confined almost entirely to the cities; rural populations declined rather than increased. In all those cities there is not a single human being who produces the necessities of his own existence. Five or six millions of people have established themselves on the Hudson River and the East River in what is called the great city of New York. There they live on the contributions of workers from all over the world. Everything that enters into their industry must be contributed from outside the city. Anybody who has ever looked upon those great chimneys and seen the smoke of manufacture rising to the heavens—incense with industry burns before the throne of God—must realize the close interdependence between all human beings in the world to-day. Everything that enters into manufacture, the very stones of the structure in which industry operates, the very beams of the building in which it is sheltered, the raw materials of manufacture, the clothing and food of the worker, all come from outside. The dweller in the cities depends for his subsistence upon the labor of all the world.

Before the war 4,000,000 of these 5,000,000 people lived literally from hand to mouth. And the same is true of people in every other great city. But now \$250,000,000 of the capital by which industry was formerly made effective has perished. Ten million human beings in the flower of their industrial efficiency are dead, maimed, and rendered inefficient. With this loss of capital and of productive energy how are these mighty populations to continue to be fed, clothed, and housed? There is but one way. The waste of war and of preparations for war must be ended. All over the world men must

put away weapons of conflict and take into their hands implements of industry. If disarmament can be made universal, then this war will be converted from the greatest scourge ever laid upon the backs of the human race into the greatest blessing which a Merciful Providence has ever extended to them. It is the unbroken lesson of history that sacrifices imposed on one generation are the necessary price of every great advance material, and moral, accomplished by other generations. The French Revolution, which caused wars that devastated the Old World for over 20 years, resulted in uprooting survivals of feudalism which had seriously hampered industry, and it was followed by an improvement in human conditions so remarkable that when we contrast the conditions of the world during the last hundred years with its condition during any previous period, it seems as if we were considering two separate planets peopled by a wholly different species of animated beings.

And after our Civil War, notwithstanding its enormous waste, the substitution of free labor for slave labor opened a fountain of prosperity which more than repaired in five years the terrible destruction of battle. And now if we can absorb all the energies of mankind in production of commodities necessary to human subsistence, the ravages of this war will be repaired in five years, and the human family will reach a plane of prosperity higher than it has ever achieved. The world is at the parting of the ways. Either it must take, through disarmament, the path leading upward to prosperity that will be immeasurable, or else through efforts to maintain huge military establishments it must sink through confusion and disaster to ruin which will be irretrievable. Which path shall be chosen? Your action, Senators, on this treaty will decide. Mr. Chairman, if we follow the path marked out by this attempt through a new covenant to perpetuate the conditions from which we hoped that the war would deliver us, if we increase armaments instead of abolishing them, if in a word this proposed treaty is ratified, the league of nations, which it establishes, which is a league not to promote peace but to prohibit peace, as Senator Knox has well said, it will prove to be the greatest curse that has ever blighted the prospects of humanity. [Applause.]

But I have not the slightest apprehension on this score. Thank God, a spirit of genuine Americanism survives in the Senate which will deliver this country from the peril that threatens it and dispel from our horizon the cloud that darkens it. I think I may say with perfect confidence that since this treaty was laid upon the table of the Senate the discussion which its provisions have evoked has raised the standard of senatorial eloquence and senatorial statesmanship to a plane higher than ever before attained in its history. [Applause.] I can quote speeches delivered by men who sit around me that can not be paralleled by any delivered in the Senate since its organization, and I do not except even that much-lauded reply of Daniel Webster to Senator Hayne, of South Carolina. When we realize the wealth of information those speeches disclose, the high spirit of patriotic devotion they attest, the stern resolution in the teeth of misrepresentations, as ingenious as they are reckless, to maintain the integrity of our institutions, which they establish, nothing in the past history of

Congress compares with them. But even if the Senate were indifferent or inefficient there would remain the unerring judgment, the infallible wisdom, the sensitive conscience of the American people. America has accomplished the greatest things ever achieved in the history of mankind, things which have been so universally recognized as of transcendent value to civilization that even if they could be changed no human being would venture to disturb them. If anybody had the power to disturb them and should attempt it, the whole conscience of Christendom would rally to preserve them as priceless possessions of the whole human family. Yet these great achievements were attained not through politicians or statesmen, but largely in spite of them. The people have always done better than the politicians or statesmen had advised.

This war which we can all now see was absolutely essential to preservation of our civilization was not a distinctive policy of the President who conducted it. He went into a campaign and sought reelection—with perfect sincerity as I believe—upon a proposition that he had kept us out of war. He could not have intended to advise a declaration of war when he called the extra session, because he did that only after failure of a measure recommended by him which did not look toward war but merely to the arming of merchant ships. It was essentially the war of the American people not of the American President.

The War with Spain was forced upon a reluctant Executive, as I think the chairman of this committee will admit, close as he was to the administration of the very distinguished President who caused its declaration. And the reconstruction of the Southern States after the Civil War was not what anybody had suggested. It is now clear that if either party had had its way the country would not yet have recovered from its ravages. I remember when Mr. Tilden was—as I believed at the time and have not wholly changed my opinion—cheated out of the office to which he had been elected, I thought it was the end of this Government. I thought that the South must remain indefinitely under the cruel heel of oppression, with rival governments in three different States, and that all possibility of reconstruction on the basis of reconciliation had faded away into limitless distance. Looking back now, I can see that it was the providence of God that put the task of withdrawing the Federal troops from South Carolina, Louisiana, and Florida into the hands of a Republican President, thus making it a common policy of the whole country, which Democrats were delighted to welcome and which Republicans were not in a position to criticize.

The War of 1812 was forced on President Madison. Senator Knox, who has undoubtedly studied closely the archives of the State Department, knows that the purchase of Louisiana as we understand it was never contemplated by Thomas Jefferson. He sought only to acquire the Island of Orleans. The purchase of the great territory north of the present boundary of Louisiana was forced on him. It was accepted as a necessary condition by his supporters, and urged as a reason for rejecting the whole treaty by others, on the ground that these desert wilds could never be of any value to us. But the people builded wiser than the statesmen of those years.

And now, when the greatest emergency that has ever confronted the country is upon us, I believe that the people's conscience, the

people's judgment, and the people's wisdom, will reinforce the determination of these Senators who have already checked, and who I believe will succeed in defeating, the attempt by this treaty to betray the causes and purposes for which the war was fought. I do not charge deliberate treason against anyone, but I do say that betrayal of the causes for which this war was fought and won will be the net result, if the purposes of those who negotiated this treaty shall be accomplished. We are told that even an amendment of this treaty will lead to its rejection. Well, what of that? Suppose it is defeated, could we conceive anything more auspicious? The league of nations which it undertakes to establish is imperfect by the concession of everybody.

The Shantung provision is an abomination. Yet we are told that we must yield to that abomination and make ourselves parties to it. My God, Mr. Chairman, when did it come to pass that the word "must" can be addressed to the American Nation? [Applause.] When this Nation consisted of little more than a few villages straggling along the Atlantic coast, the suggestion was made that forbearance of the greatest military power in the world at that time could be secured by a substantial advance of money. The answer was given without an instant's hesitation: "Millions for defense; not one cent for tribute." [Applause.]

And, sir, are we now to pay not a tribute of money but a tribute of infamy, by the confession of everybody, in order to establish a league which has not and can not operate for peace, but in the very nature of things, as has been conclusively shown by Mr. Knox and other Senators, must operate to make war frequent, if not perpetual? Is there in that treaty one single word of which any American should be proud? Does it liberate a single people who seek emancipation, except as an act of vengeance against the countries that were overthrown? Does it hold out a word of hope to nations that are languishing in chains and determined to break them? Far from that, it creates new spoliations and makes us a party to them. Without our participation they could not become effective. [Applause.]

But we are told that we can ratify this treaty and pass a resolution declaring that we don't like these infamies at the very time that we are perpetrating them. Now I can have some respect, at least I can understand the attitude of a man who perpetrates an infamy because he wants to, but I have no patience with a man who after making himself a party to an infamy seeks to excuse himself by saying that he dislikes it. [Applause.] One man is formidable to justice, the other is contemptible in every sense. But thank God the Government of the United States is not going to be contemptible. [Applause.]

Now, in all this, I do not intend the slightest reflection on the President of the United States. I think I ought to say that. [Laughter.] No, no; Senators, let me say this to you: I think the place of the President in history is a high one, and I think it is secure. I think it is so secure that it can not be overthrown by anything except ratification of this treaty, and against that the Senate is, I think, immovable. His definition of the cause which led us into this war has become one of the priceless possessions of humanity. The 14 points are not dead. They are alive; they are here. [Applause.]

We are appealing to them now, and the appeal will not be in vain. They can never die.

I was one of those who sincerely deplored his going abroad. I did not believe then, and I do not believe now, that the President of the United States is ever justified in placing his person under the jurisdiction, or in the power of a foreign Government, especially when he is engaged in a negotiation affecting the sovereignty of the United States. While his person is under foreign jurisdiction he can be coerced in many ways. I think he was coerced in one way which proved effective, and that was by threatening him covertly or openly with some manifestation of disapproval or by withholding from him the applause which they gave him in overflowing measure when he first appeared on the European continent. It is impossible otherwise to account for his acceptance of provisions in this treaty which he himself declares to be objectionable. But I want to say this: The world which heard the words he uttered when urging Congress to declare war became that moment a different world from what it had ever been before. I wrote Mr. Tumulty at that time, and I felt deeply in my soul that this address of the President would pass into history as the most momentous utterance that ever fell from human lips since Pope Urban II preached the First Crusade at Clermont-Ferrand, over 800 years ago. When he said this war was waged to make the world safe for democracy, and men shed their blood to make his declaration effective, it became impossible for the earth which received that libation, ever again to tolerate, in Ireland or anywhere else in the world, conditions those heroes died to overthrow. [Applause.]

After speaking these words it became as impossible for the President to come back and set up such a machinery of force to dominate the world, as is embodied in this treaty, as it would have been for Godfrey, of Bouillon, or any other leader of the Crusades to establish Mohammedanism in his own dominion after his return from attempting to overthrow it in the Holy Land. Even though the President has himself forsaken the 14 points, the principle embodied in them remains to render the dominion of brute force impossible anywhere within the limits of civilization.

How the reign of brute force will be abolished in Ireland I can not tell at this moment any more than anyone at the close of our Civil War could have foretold the splendidly successful reconstruction of the Southern States that followed it. I am sure the chairman of this committee will recall that the leaders of the dominant party at that time, men like Charles Sumner and Thaddeus M. Stevens and Oliver P. Morton, patriots of the highest type, believed it would be necessary to take the most drastic precautions against a renewal of secession. On the other hand, the leaders of the Democratic Party in the South believed that they were entitled at once to unconditional restoration of their government and freedom to reestablish their social and economic life as they pleased. A golden mean was struck between the two. Their governments were given back to the southern people when it became clear that there would be no attempt to restore slavery or to fasten the Confederate debt on any part of this country. And then those States which had been ravaged as no other land had been ravaged before, whose industrial system had been sub-

verted, whose cities had been burned, whose fields had been devastated, where the last dollar of capital had been expended, rose from the ashes of defeat almost in a night and marched forward to a prosperity greater than that which has blessed any other part of this country.

So I firmly believe that out of all this discussion, contention, and confusion of views, the thing will emerge which the world needs. And that is disarmament. When disarmament becomes universal, then peace will be firmly established, for the very simple reason that when all nations are disarmed there will not be any means with which any of them can fight against another. Let us, then, insist that the outcome of this war shall be disarmament of all nations. We have the power to enforce this policy and we need not lift a finger to do it. As Senator Knox pointed out yesterday, the whole world is bankrupt. Many nations are still intent on maintaining great armaments, but they can not support them unless we give them the means. It is certainly impossible for any of them to reorganize its industry and at the same time maintain a great military establishment. The hope of each one is that we will advance it the capital essential to its industrial reorganization, and then it will use its own resources to maintain a great armament on land and sea.

I do not believe any American would object to aid the restoration of stricken Europe, but I do think it is our paramount duty to insist that before we extend the benefit of our resources to any other country all its own resources be devoted to restoring its industry. We should not aid it while it diverted one penny of its own possessions to military enterprises. To force universal disarmament, therefore, it is only necessary that this country resume the rôle which it has played since its organization.

For the first time in the history of the world a great war has ended, leaving one power able to maintain the greatest armaments on land and sea and that power does not want to establish them. That power possesses the resources to resuscitate society, and it does not want to exercise the power thus given it for any other purpose than to benefit the whole human family. And now, while we are ready to expend our treasure for the welfare of all the world, what is it that by this treaty we are asked to do? As Senator Knox well said yesterday, we are asked to use our resources for regeneration of the world, not according to our own idea of what would be most effective, but by submitting our judgment to that of other nations whose policies have led them to the pass out of which they are crying to us for deliverance. Now, if there be in all this world any force, country, Government, or political system better qualified than America to employ enormous resources for the benefit of mankind by enforcing justice I am ready, for my part, to see our resources turned over to that superior agency. But where is it? Where can it be found? Where is there in the universe any force comparable to the United States as an agency to use unlimited resources for the improvement of human conditions? Such a power or force can not be found. It does not exist. And yet we are asked to subordinate our control over our own resources to the judgment of nations which I think nobody here will dispute are inferior to us in intelligence and in love of justice. We are asked to give up the greater for the less, to abase

ourselves from the lofty position to which Providence has assigned us and deliberately sink to a lower level. But it is said that if we maintain control over our own destiny we are in danger of isolation.

Well, Mr. Chairman our isolation was decreed by Almighty God when he gave us the first place in civilization. Eminence is always isolation. But the eminence which we have always enjoyed is not an isolation which we want selfishly to retain. No; no; no; America invites all the world to end that isolation by coming up and sharing the eminence which she has occupied since the organization of this Republic. [Applause.] From the spirit that has been displayed in this gathering here to-day, I have unbounded confidence that this country will not terminate that eminence by coming down from it and abasing itself to the prejudices and hostilities and cupidities of those European powers that have plunged the world into the welter of blood from which we have just delivered them, and from whose consequences we now hope to shield them.

Senator Knox has stated, much better than I can state it, the true policy we should pursue. When disarmament is secured the nations can not fight. And then an unarmed world will naturally and inevitably produce a league of nations to adjust disputes. While unarmed nations can not fight without at least three years' preparation there will be disputes as long as there are human beings on the earth. Now, there are but two things that men or nations can do when they engage in disputes; they can either fight about them or they can talk about them. If they have not the means to fight then there is nothing left for them to do but talk about them. And when by disarmament they are placed in a position where all they can do is to talk, they will inevitably take measures to make that talk effective, which means they will establish tribunals or bodies of some description before which these disputes can be adjusted, if they are capable of adjustment. Leagues of nations can not produce peace. But peace can and will produce a league of nations—a true league of nations—a league capable of meeting the requirements of civilization. And with all the world disarmed no nation can be held in subjection against the will of its inhabitants to another. Ireland will be free and every nation now denied the blessings of liberty will obtain them. That, Mr. Chairman, I believe will be the outcome of this situation. It may not come immediately. But come it must and come it will. Anything else spells not merely danger but ruin to civilization. Mr. Chairman, these are the conclusions which I submit respectfully but most hopefully to this committee. Peace—not merely cessation of war, but cessation of preparations for war—is absolutely essential to human existence under the conditions which now govern the world.

Peace must be established in Ireland before it can be made permanent throughout the world. Peace can not be established in Ireland by England. Eight centuries of history prove that. The Irish people who have resisted foreign domination for nine centuries will not submit to it, even though an attempt to force it upon them were made by a thousand leagues of nations. The league of nations here proposed is an abomination, an attempt to use the conscience of Christendom to sanction and perpetuate wrongs which morality and justice condemn. But although judgment and good sense may have departed from quarters where we have a right to expect that they

would be found, yet we feel profoundly confident that here in this body the wisdom of the fathers will be vindicated by such a display of patriotism, such an exercise of vigilance, as will insure to this people the rights to which they were born, the rights which some of us who came here from other lands have acquired through the operation of our constitutional system; and by maintaining this constitution intact, you Senators will become the effective instruments ordained by Providence to keep trimmed and shining before the eyes of all men the lamp which will guide their footsteps, to freedom, to justice, and to unending prosperity.

Judge COHALAN. Gentlemen of the committee, we thank you on behalf of those who have come here, and on behalf of those who have had the opportunity of addressing you.

BRIEF OF PROTEST.

(The brief of protest heretofore referred to, filed in opposition to the arguments submitted at the morning session, is as follows:)

The FOREIGN RELATIONS COMMITTEE,

Senate of the United States.

GENTLEMEN OF THE COMMITTEE: We beg to present a formal protest to the attempt of representatives of a faction in Ireland, known as the Sinn Fein party, or of kindred organizations favoring this movement in the United States, to have the so-called Irish question thrust into the discussion in the Senate of the peace treaty and the league of nations.

In presenting our brief of protest we do so as American citizens of Irish birth, and not as agents of a foreign government, nor as local political factionists with an ax to grind. We are just plain, hard-working American citizens, engaged in various commercial and professional callings, prompted by a legitimate sentiment for the land of our birth and by a whole-hearted devotion to the land of our adoption.

We are not here, sirs, to argue either for or against the peace treaty and the league of nations, but we are here through your gracious courtesy to declare ourselves opposed to the thrusting of a foreign political issue into the discussion of that great subject.

Our opposition, gentlemen, is based on the following arguments:

I. THE ARGUMENT OF RIGHT.

The league of nations is a proposal to unite the forces of the allies who fought during the late war to preserve the future peace of the world. This faction in Ireland has no right to be considered in the discussion, for they failed to support the allies in that war and failed to do their part in the struggle. We present two simple statements in our argument:

A. They failed to support by sentiment. Their propaganda during the war period was hurtful to the allied cause.

B. They failed to support by deed. They gave and comfort to the foe by creating strife and turmoil at home. The British Government, in order to quiet this faction could not and did not enforce conscription in Ireland. Granted they had a real cause to present at the bar of American judgment, they have no more right to be heard at this time, when they failed to support the allied cause, than the foe has to be heard at this juncture.

II. THE ARGUMENT OF FACT.

It is stated by this element that Ireland has not self-government and is therefore entitled to be heard. We are prepared to testify by actual experience that Ireland has self-government on the following basis:

A. Ireland has the franchise—franchise in local as well as national government.

B. Ireland has representative government. It has representatives of the people, by the people, and for the people.

C. Laws are made by the Parliament in the same manner as for England, Scotland, or Wales—the procedure is the same in each case.

It is further stated by this element that Ireland is suppressed by Britain. We reply:

First. It is not suppressed religiously. Freedom of worship is granted to all, and is enjoyed by all.

Second. It is not suppressed industrially. Ireland possesses some of the largest plants in various industries to be found in the world, for example, shipbuilding, linen, tobacco, rope, collar and shirt, distilling, etc. The lace industry of Ireland is proverbial. Ireland is enjoying prosperity now to a vast degree.

III. THE ARGUMENT OF HISTORY.

The claim is made that Ireland was and should be a nation. This claim is false and the assumption is without historical grounds. Ireland neither during the Druidic nor the Christian periods has been one whole, undivided nation. The four provinces represent the smallest areas of nationhood. Historically, Ireland has had many kings and rulers at the one time, but never one king or supreme chief. Only under British rule has Ireland ever approached unity in these historic divisions. The present political divisions in Ireland are religious and not racial.

IV. THE ARGUMENT OF PRINCIPLE.

We are opposed, gentlemen, to the Irish question being thrust into American politics for the following reasons:

A. It raises a racial question. American citizenship is built not on foreign nationality but by adoption of the principles of the Constitution of the United States of America. The United States exists not for the foreignizing of America, but Americanizing the foreigner who seeks to live in our land. Whatever arouses racial feeling in America is dangerous to our national consciousness. We are opposed to hyphenated Americanism.

B. It raises a religious question. This is foreign to the principles of American national life. The propaganda of this element is such as to arouse sectarian animosity, denominational bigotry, and injects religious controversy into American politics. We are opposed to the religious hyphenate as well as the racial, whether it be Jewish, Roman Catholic, Protestant, Christian Science, or otherwise. The Irish question at home is a matter largely of religious association, and this is its tendency abroad.

In conclusion, sirs, we feel that the Irish question should not have official recognition at this time, when in the interests of the democracy of the world there should be fostered a friendly feeling between the two great English-speaking democracies of the United States of America and the British Empire.

We desire to thank you in behalf of those who think and feel as we do on this question, not only of Irish birth, but also as direct American citizens, as well as an appreciation of ourselves personally for your courteous treatment and patient hearing. With absolute confidence we leave the matter in your care.

DAVID D. IRVINE,
HENRY STEWART,
JOHN KENNEDY,
LT. LEWIS H. SHAW,
ALBERT E. KELLY,
WILLIAM H. CHINNY,
WILLIAM BALFOUR.

(The following documents, numbered from 1 to 25, are printed as a part of the hearing by direction of the committee:)

No. 1.

STATEMENT OF REV. JAMES GRATTAN MYTHEN, ASSISTANT MINISTER CHRIST CHURCH, NORFOLK, VA., AS MADE TO THE FOREIGN RELATIONS COMMITTEE SATURDAY, AUGUST 30, 1919.

Mr. Chairman and gentlemen of the committee, your committee has served notice that only American citizens shall appear before you in relation to the

matters which you are discussing, and it is, therefore, my privilege to appeal to you primarily and, in fact, solely as an American citizen on the question to which you have given a hearing to-day, namely, the freedom of the Irish people in their motherland.

As you note, I am a clergyman of the Protestant Episcopal Church, and as a follower of the Nazarene my training has taught me to be a pacifist. I could in no other way in conscience follow the Prince of Peace, however, when in holy week the President of the United States in an appeal made to the American people through his address to the Houses of Congress assembled in joint session, promulgated what to me seemed the most forceful Christian utterance since the days of Apostolic inspiration, whatever difficulties had previously been made manifest from the Christian ethical standpoint in regard to war were swept away. As a man, as an American, then Mr. Wilson convinced me as a Christian, it was my absolute and bounden duty to support the great crusade of which he seemed to be the modern Peter the Hermit.

On Easter Day I preached a sermon in favor of the war, and when the young men of my parish enlisted I felt that I, being unattached, economically responsible for no one, that it was unbecoming of me to be content merely to stand in the pulpit and urge other men to give their lives for the principles which I considered worthy of life giving. And so, with countless numbers of young men of the Nation I enlisted voluntarily, although I was exempt from the draft on account of my clerical profession, and also since I was beyond the draft age. I was content to serve in the ranks in the humblest capacity, feeling that the menial tasks which fell to my lot were noble because even in their small way they were aiding in achieving the high purport of the sacred mission to which our country had committed itself.

It was not at Belgium appealed to me so tremendously; I could sympathize with Belgium because I am of Irish extraction; but it was the statements of our President that the crusade which he had inaugurated meant enfranchisement of the world; that all peoples everywhere were to determine for themselves the sovereignty under which they might desire to live. When he specifically told us that it was not against the German people, but against the imperial autocracy of Germany that we were to fight, I understood him as a clear, logical and consequential thinker, and I knew that he did not mean alone the new-born imperialism of Germany, but also the age-long imperialisms of which no student of history could possibly be ignorant, especially the author of "The New Freedom."

From the textbooks of Mr. Wilson I had learned much, and so I gladly followed him in the war in which we were to exemplify by the force of militant argument the principles which he had enunciated.

During my career in the Navy I was charged with helping along the work of morale. I addressed countless numbers of enlisted men; I wish to tell you that on one occasion I preached in St. Johns' Church, Hampton, Va., to a congregation composed almost entirely of men in uniform. I had to say in defense of the President, because he was then being attacked, that he did mean all that he had said, and that imperialism everywhere was to go. I distinctly mentioned Ireland, India, and Egypt in my sermon. A member of the President's wartime Cabinet was an auditor, and he sent for me—I mean Dr. Garfield, the Fuel Administrator—and he told me that I had echoed the thoughts of the President. I was glad to hear him say that because in my sermon on that day I had said that if the thing that I was preaching were not true, I would gladly be taken out and put up against a wall and shot, because the uniform I was wearing under my priestly vestments would be a disgrace to the world.

Now, gentlemen of this committee, if a treaty of peace, so-called, is ratified by you as the coordinate treaty-making power, and the so-called league of nations receives your sanction, I shall feel, first of all, as an American citizen, secondly as a minister of the gospel, and, thirdly, as an enlisted man in the Navy, that I have been betrayed not only by the executive power who led us to a victorious war and brought us to defeat in peace, but also betrayed by your honorable committee.

However, I do not fear such results. The principles enunciated in the fourteen points are more than Mr. Wilson's theories. He wrote them first in black and white and we read them, but since that time they have been written in red by my comrades, your sons, and your brothers in the fields of France, and though Mr. Wilson may wish to erase the things he wrote, he can not erase

the indorsement of his principles which has been written in blood by the men who fell in Flanders and France.

The Irish issue might well be called the acid test of our international honesty. It is an acid which, if properly neutralized will work well for the common weal, but if left in sullen despair will, without doubt, ally itself with every agency which makes for discontent and through which it may find a voice. Is it the will of this honorable committee to throw the twenty millions of our people into the already too large accumulation in the discard of discontent?

It is not necessary for me to attempt to convince your honorable body that there is no question of religion in the Irish situation as it is. The roster of Irish Protestants who might well be called the Protestant saints of Catholic Ireland answers that question for me; Grattan, Wolfe, Tono, Lord Edward Fitzgerald, John Mitchel—grandfather of the late Mayor of New York City—Francis McKinley, hanged and quartered uncle of the late President of the United States; Robert Emmet, and Parnell. These Protestant leaders of Catholic Ireland need no apologists.

There is a religious question, however, which is international in scope when, for instance, from the interior of India, mercenary Gurkhas are imported to police Ireland. Those Gurkhas made themselves known in France when, stripped to nothing but a gee-string, with oiled bodies, with a knife in either hand and another in their mouths, disdaining the use of modern weapons, they leaped like tigers at the foe. This, gentlemen, is England's contribution from India to Ireland. And from Ireland the equally mercenary Sir Michael O'Dwyer, a man whom all Irishmen repudiate, was sent to rule over the Punjab, and whose rule has been exemplified in these last few months by suppressing particular demonstrations of unarmed Indians by the use of machine guns and bombs from the airplanes, killing thereby in cold blood hundreds of innocent men, women and children.

These are the ways of English imperialism which manufacture religious animosities where none exist in reality. Thus, gentlemen, does England attempt to keep her belligerent subjects from realizing the unity of purpose which they should have in common in the destruction of her perfidious empire. She tries to make the Irish hate the Indians and make the Indians hate the Irish. So has she done in Ireland. She has created a fictitious animosity between Protestant and Catholic which exists only as political propaganda. She claims through Sir Edward Carson that the Protestant religion requires for its preservation the maintenance of British rule in Ireland. As a Protestant, sir, and a clergyman of the Protestant religion, I resent the implication that Protestantism requires the sustenance of British imperialism to maintain itself in Ireland or elsewhere. Were I convinced that this were a fact, that only through the power of British arms could my religion maintain itself in Ireland, then I would repudiate my religion at once. So, it is quite true that in this country we have heard the British propaganda that there is a religious difficulty in Ireland.

I want to say to you, sir, and gentlemen, that as a Protestant Irishman, whose family to-day in Ireland are representatives of the Protestant religion, that we would all gladly have Ireland free under any religious leadership rather than remain, as we are, the only white race still in slavery.

No. 2.

STATEMENT BY FORMER CONGRESSMAN JOSEPH F. O'CONNELL, REPRESENTING A DELEGATION OF THE BENCH AND BAR OF MASSACHUSETTS BEFORE THE SENATE COMMITTEE ON FOREIGN RELATIONS.

AUGUST 30, 1919.

MR. CHAIRMAN: I have been authorized on behalf of the delegation of 25 lawyers sent here to-day by the bench and bar of Massachusetts to register our protest against the ratification of the peace treaty now under consideration in its present form, and to say to you that the proposed league of nations is in our judgment un-American, illegal, and contrary to the ideals of the American Republic.

It was my great honor and distinction to sit as a member of Congress for four years in the great Chamber at the other end of the Capitol, and every

time that I have viewed it in person or print my mind has traveled back to its beginning and history.

Sometimes, Senators, I am inclined to believe we forget the history of this very building in which you will assemble in deliberation on this treaty. Can you forget that in 1814 British troops marched from Annapolis on their errand of destruction and captured Washington, at that time an unfortified city! I will not detain you to narrate all the violations of so-called civilized warfare that were committed by the British officers and troops in that campaign, but I do make bold to recall to your attention the infamous conduct and unforgettable incident committed by the British troops in destroying the seat of our Government, because it carries with it the evil omen of what it will do again if it ever secures the chance.

The story of the exploit of Admiral Cockburn should be burned into the memory of this committee and every member of the Senate. Let me refresh your minds on a few of the details. After capturing the city, Cockburn marched with his soldiers into the Capitol building and, assembling them in the House Chamber, addressed them as follows, as we are told by English and American historians:

"We have met to-day in the building dedicated to the liberties of the American people—all in favor of burning this building to the ground, will say 'Aye'."

The vote was unanimous, and the orders were given "Burn it." And the original home of our Government, the emblem of our liberty and the original house of our Government in this city was destroyed by the ruthless devastating torch of the British soldier.

Let me warn you who are inclined to trust England that the same spirit of contempt for the American Republic still persists in the same quarters that inspired the orders to destroy our Capitol. If England ever secures the power of dominating American ideals, such as is contemplated in the proposed league of nations, is there any of you who can guarantee to the American people that England would again not do the same, if not worse, than Cockburn did in 1814?

This incident of American history is not recalled to you in any spirit of hatred against England, but only from the prudence of my American citizenship that can not still the fear that we will be taking a grave chance in entering into this proposed entangling alliance with monarchical powers, and as a lawyer representing a group of practicing lawyers I counsel and advise against taking any chances with our historical and traditional enemy. A small leak can lead to the destruction of the mightiest dam and your care should be to prevent anything that might lead to a leak of American and republican principles, for if the dam that has been built to protect the American people and the principles of liberty ever gives way the best minds of the world must agree that no man can foretell the awful destruction that will follow.

The President may cling to his ideals, but as an American lawyer and on behalf of this delegation of lawyers from New England we deliberately assert that the President has no right to entertain in his official capacity ideals that interfere or modify or control in the slightest degree the accepted and established ideals of American liberty as laid down in our Declaration of Independence and National Constitution. We in this delegation represent the traditions and teachings of James Otis, Samuel and John Adams, and Daniel Webster, and we fervidly and earnestly appeal to you, most of whom are lawyers, in their name not to forget the basic reasons that brought about the establishment of the United States of America as a Republic separate and distinct from all other races and governments.

We urge that if the principles of a republican form of government were sufficient to justify the establishment of the American Republic in 1776 they are just as sound in 1919 to justify the establishment of an Irish republic in Ireland. This Republic was established on the doctrine of majority rule and all authorities agree that over 80 per cent of the Irish people have followed the course of the American Republic and have established for themselves an Irish republic, and hence we respectfully urge, that, having expressed to the Irish people the sympathy of the American people on the efforts of the Irish people to secure independence by a vote of 60 to 1, the consistent and proper thing to do now is to officially recognize Ireland as a republic. You have heard to-day from the lips of eminent Americans who have been in Ireland enough to justify you in acting immediately and stating to the world that you are satisfied that the Irish people have legally established themselves as a republic.

So much has been called to your attention to-day on this very important matter that I will not tire you by recurring to any of the various points dwelt upon by those who have already addressed you. But it does seem pertinent to lead your thoughts to that old bogey and masterpiece of British propaganda, the Ulster question, and, at the risk of taxing your patience, I ask your indulgence to read an authoritative statement from Ernest A. Boyd, one of the leading Protestant Irishmen of these days and an official of the British consular service: Ulster is a purely geographical term which describes the northern Province of Ireland containing the nine counties of Donegal, Cavan, Monaghan, Tyrone, Armagh, Fermanagh, Down, Antrim, and Derry.

This region is intimately and gloriously associated with the greatest traditions, literary and historical, of the Irish nation from the earliest time, when it was the scene of the epic masterpiece of Celtic literature, down to the eve of the union, when Wolfe Tone conceived his dream of the United Irishmen in Belfast, and Grattan founded at Dunegannon the volunteers of prophetic significance. Evidently this Irish Ulster is not the "Ulster" which has called forth the rebellious enthusiasm of Sir Edward Carson and his English friends. The one is a national, the other a political phenomenon; yet, strange to say, owing to the absence of inverted commas, it is on behalf of the political "Ulster" that a plea for self-determination is often raised by those who argue that she can not deny to Ulster the right which she claims for herself. In other words, the demand of the Irish people for self-government presents itself as indistinguishable from the claim of "Ulster" to revolt against the laws of national and political unity. If the principle of national be the test to the right of self-determination, then it is important to distinguish between Ulster and "Ulster." The history of the Plantation of Ulster need not be recapitulated to-day. The facts are historical, and, whatever else may be said of them, they are hardly the best foundation to a claim to special consideration at the expense of the native population of the country upon which the settlers were thrust.

The present obstacles in the way of any acceptance of the theory that Ulster is a homogeneous entity are sufficient to dispense with a return to ancient history in the manner of which we Irish are accused of being over fond. In 1911 the total population of our northern Province was 1,581,696, of which 690,816 were Catholic Nationalists. Politically, this division was emphasized by the return of 17 Nationalists as against 16 Unionist members of Parliament. Even since the last election, when a redistribution of seats and the split of the Nationalist vote between Nationalists and Sinn Feiners affected these figures to the advantage of the Unionist, there is still a majority in Ulster united with the majority elsewhere in Ireland so far as the demand for an Irish Parliament is concerned. Ulster is neither Unionist nor Protestant. Three counties, Donegal, Canan, and Monaghan, are almost wholly Catholic. Catholics and Protestants are about equally divided in Armagh, Tyrone, and Fermanagh; and it is only in the three counties of Down, Antrim, and Derry that there is a strong Protestant Unionist majority. Even there Belfast has returned one Nationalist member representing the Home Rule Catholic minority. If the four counties known as Northeast Ulster are grouped together for electoral purposes, it is found that 5 Nationalists are elected as against 14 Unionists. The remaining five counties returned 12 Nationalists and only 2 Unionists. Clearly, it is impossible to consider Ulster as a political and religious unity. If the right of Ireland to self-determination be granted, not only will a minority of the whole country be coerced, but a minority in Ulster itself.

To do Ulster justice, those interested have rarely dared to base their demand for separate treatment on the ground of a majority right to self-determination. Carsonia is frankly antidemocratic and particularist, demanding special concessions for a majority on the sole ground of local advantage, and without any thought for the rights of the majority in Ulster or for the remaining Provinces of Ireland. It is alleged that Ulster has prospered since the union, that it is passionately devoted to England—not the Empire, for colonial home rule is abhorrent—that its interests are opposed to those of the rest of Ireland, and that these would suffer at the hands of a legislature representing an agricultural community and dominated by Catholicism. The very arguments cited in favor of Ulster are a proof of the particularism and purely local selfishness of their champions. So far as the prosperity of Ulster is concerned it is limited to a few industries in a restricted area.

The Province shows the second highest total of emigration for all Ireland between 1851 and 1911—namely, 1,236,872—and between 1841 and 1911 the

population of Ulster had declined by 805,177 persons. Three Ulster counties are on the list of Irish counties with the greatest number of emigrants, and two of them are in the superprosperous, supercontented "northeast corner"—namely, Antrim, with 297,605, and Down, with 162,571. And as showing that this decline of man power is not a heritage of papal superstition, these figures are higher than those of the third county, Tyrone, whose emigrants over the same period numbered 149,243.

As for the pretense that a poverty stricken agricultural population would victimize the "prosperous" industrial minority, it is worth noting that the taxable revenue per head is lower in Ulster than in Leinster, being £3 9s. 8d. in the former, £4 8s. 9d. in the latter, and that congested districts, with all the misery the words can note, are found in Ulster no less than in Connaught. On per capita valuation the highest northern country ranks only twelfth in Ireland. In fact, what Ulster fears even more than it fears democratic government is democratic taxation. Its claim to self-determination is a claim for capitalist determination alike for Ireland and Ulster.

Every Irishman knows how profound is the indifference of Ulster to English interests or English sentiment whenever these threatened to clash with the interests of Carsonism. The professions of undying affection for England no more corresponds to individual sentiment than do the boastings of economic independence to individual interests. Should northeast Ulster become Carsonshire under separate English administration, nobody would be more seriously disturbed than the Ulster bankers and the thousand and one business men who do not own the few favored industries independent of Irish support. In other words, these purely selfish manifestations of loyalty to England and independence of Ireland made possible only by exploiting popular religious bigotry do not represent real political and social conditions. They are as remote from the facts of Ulster's life as are the panic fears of Catholicism which haunt the imagination of the Protestants where they are a dominating majority, but are proved groundless by their absence in the scattered Protestant minorities outside of northeast Ulster.

"Ulster" is not, as has been shown, a geographical entity; it is certainly not a national organism; it is not even homogeneous in religion and politics. It is an integral part of the Province whose name it usurps, and its separatism flourishes solely because a small portion of the community, led by strangers, has not been exposed to the process of incorporation into the national and economic being, such as has everywhere resulted in political unity. We do not anticipate civil war, which has in most cases preceded the welding together of similarly divided communities, for we hold that the work of absorption will be painlessly effected by economic pressure. At the worst, a trial of strength in war, as between the Federal and Confederate States of North America, would lead to the definite establishment of a dominant majority. It is immaterial which side should win, provided one were irrevocably defeated. The consequences of an Irish civil war could not mean one-quarter of the misery, waste, and disruption which a continuance of this unsettled problem has brought upon Ireland. Fortunately, however, there are not even two parties of extremists who believe in the probability of civil war, and one set of extremists in a nation of essentially moderate and well-disposed people will have some difficulty in making Ireland follow the example of other countries faced with the same problem.

Irishmen plead that as the word "Ulster" is misused in this connection, so is the word "coercion." The coercion in question is the same as that to which all minorities have submitted. It does not stand for the forcible oppression of an independent people by an alien government, for, whatever their political origin, Ulstermen are self-confessedly and aggressively Irish. They are asked to rid themselves of their hallucinations fostered by those who exploit them brazenly. It is a peculiar fact that the people of "Ulster" have never yet been allowed to speak for themselves. The Catholic peasantry became articulate in the person of Michael Davitt, the Catholic worker in James Connolly, both notable spokesmen of the ideals of democracy, it is interesting to state. Orangeism relies upon lawyers and capitalists for the expression of its views, and these representatives have a consistent record of opposition to every progressive measure passed by the House of Commons and to every progressive idea which has captured the Irish people. To witness the savage carnivals, the "annual brain storm," as it has been termed, in which "Ulster" renews its barbarous hatred of the phantoms which blind the people to real issues, is to understand the imperative necessity of liberating the victims. They can be

freed not by special recognition of their primitive tribalism, but by sharing the common duties and privileges of Irish self-government.

Senators, if there be a free Ireland, there will be a free "Ulster."

No. 3.

STATEMENT BY JAMES E. DEERY, INDIANAPOLIS, NATIONAL PRESIDENT OF THE ANCIENT ORDER OF HIBERNIANS IN AMERICA.

To the FOREIGN RELATIONS COMMITTEE, UNITED STATES SENATE:

The Ancient Order of Hibernians, at their recent national convention held in San Francisco, Calif., last month, adopted a resolution insisting that in the event that a league of nations covenant was adopted that provision be made therein for the recognition of Ireland as a member thereof. The Hibernians feel that every nation in the world, and particularly America, was inspired to victory in the recent war by the thought that when the terms of peace were drawn up the world would be made safe for democracy and that all small nations would be given the right to determine the form of government under which they desired to live. The Hibernians are interested in this question now before the Senate committee solely as American citizens and lovers of liberty. The Hibernians are proud of the record for 100 per cent Americanism made by the Irish in this country from the days of the revolution to the present time.

When America was looking for outside help, prior to the War of the Revolution, they sent Benjamin Franklin to Europe, and in no country did he receive more encouragement and support in behalf of the America cause than from Ireland. They not only held meetings throughout Ireland but they raised funds with which to help finance the colonies.

Recently the President of the United States, in asking the United States Senate to ratify a treaty with France regarding her boundaries, urged that we were but repaying our debt of the revolution. History records the fact that the first troops in France to petition permission to come to the assistance of America in the days of the revolution were the members of the Irish Brigade, a part of the French Army, and the first French troops to land on our shores were 2,300 Irishmen under Count Dillion. Likewise, exiles from Ireland found their way to America and fought throughout the war in the continental forces. It is estimated that 50 per cent of Washington's Army was made up of Irishmen. In an investigation made by the English Parliament at the time of the revolution it was shown that in some parts of the American Army the Gaelic language was spoken more than the English. So that if we have any debts to pay for assistance rendered us in the war of the revolution Ireland's claim should come first.

As the league of nations now stands we feel that article 10 prevents America repaying her debt to Ireland. The Hibernians sincerely trust that before the terms of peace are ratified by the United States Senate that the Senate will officially recognize the republic of Ireland as a free and independent nation.

No. 4.

STATEMENT OF REV. F. X. McCABE, C. M., LL. D., PRESIDENT DEPAUL UNIVERSITY, CHICAGO, ILL.

I would like to present before your honorable body this short statement. The war was fought, according to the pledges made to the people of this country by the President of the United States, to put an end to all autocratic forms of government, and thus make the world safe for democracy; to liberate the nations held in bondage by stronger powers and give them the opportunity of selecting their own form of government. On the strength of these pledges American men fought and died, and their sacrifices and valor won the war. The time for making good the pledges has come. As American citizens we have done our part and more than our part. We have a right to demand that the pledges made be kept and can not tolerate post-armistice interpretations made by the Chief Executive for the purpose of evading the fulfillment of those pledges. We can not as American citizens tolerate a league of nations that impairs the sovereignty of these United States. We believe that your committee will stand firm and save our country from the

catastrophe of being made the cats-paw in European politics. We feel that you can see that both the treaty and the league of nations make the two greatest empires of the world stronger than ever, and place our country between them to be crushed by their combined force any time they see it to their interest. The giving of Shantung to Japan and the refusal to recognize the rights of the people of Ireland are crimes against the democratic ideals of our country, branding us before the world as absolutely faithless to the men that died, to the men that fought, to the American people and to the oppressed nations of the world. In the name of justice and decency repudiate the league of nations and demand the fulfillment of America's word of honor.

No. 5.

STATEMENT OF MRS. MARY F. McWHORTER, NATIONAL PRESIDENT LADIES' AUXILIARY, ANCIENT ORDER OF HIBERNIANS IN AMERICA.

MR. CHAIRMAN AND GENTLEMEN: When the President of the United States issued the call to American manhood to go to the battle fields of Europe to vindicate American ideals of democracy none answered the call more readily than did American boys of Irish blood.

During the time our country was engaged in winning the war the women of the organization which I represent rendered splendid service to the Nation in every line of war work. In order that the service rendered along this line might be of the very best, it was my duty to visit 33 States of the Union during that time. During these visits I addressed gatherings of the members of this organization in from two to eight towns in each one of those States. In this way I had the privilege of meeting many of the mothers of the American boys of Irish blood who were fighting in the trenches in Flanders. The sacrifices made by these mothers would wring tears from the eyes of the most hard-hearted. Many of them are widows who had worked hard to give their boys the necessary education to fill good positions. A soldier's pay was a very poor substitute for the salary these boys were earning. I know well that in many cases these widowed mothers had to go to work again in order to keep the little home intact. They never uttered a complaint, because they felt that their boys were given to a holy cause—that of freeing the enslaved peoples of the whole world, among which they surely thought were included the people of the land of their origin, Ireland. And so, as I have already said, they bore all their privations cheerfully and uncomplainingly, and, besides earning their daily bread by the sweat of their brow, they also gave splendid service to Red Cross and other war-service societies.

During the war, while every member of my organization was actively engaged in war work, you may know very little was accomplished in the way of recruiting new members, hence since the signing of the armistice a period of reconstruction has set in. This, too, has kept me constantly traveling from one State to the other. I find a great change in the spirit of our members, in which keen disappointment is the dominant note. The glowing words of our great President uttered on our entrance into the World War have no longer the power to inspire and uplift, for the people have lost all faith in them. I find this feeling of discontent not only among the American people of Irish blood, but among other Americans as well. The press of America, with but few exceptions, make it appear that the great mass of the American people favor the league of nations. Gentlemen of the committee, there is a growing spirit of opposition to this proposed league that it would be well for those who sincerely and honestly love America and who wish to safeguard America's real interests to heed. It is my honest opinion that if every American was made familiar with what this league really means to America there would arise such a storm of protest against it that it would be heard around the world. Liberty loving Americans who have a just pride in our great Nation will never stand to have this Republic made the tail of the British kite.

Speaking for the people of Ireland who have aroused the admiration of all liberty-loving people the world over by their brave fight for their national rights, I have this to say:

The contemplation of what these people are suffering to-day is the cause of great agony of mind to those of their blood on this side of the Atlantic. The sanctity of the Irish home is violated night after night. I ask you, gentlemen of the committee, to picture the condition of the minds of the mothers in Ire-

land—they never know from one night to another when their homes are to be invaded and the children of their affection dragged out and thrown into prison. Have pity on these mothers and refrain from an act that will continue this suffering indefinitely, for the Irish will never give up their fight for freedom while a remnant of the race remains.

The Irish republic was established according to the expressed sentiments of our great President "the right of self-determination for all peoples" echoed around the world at the time this now famous slogan was uttered—it even found its way into Ireland despite the wall of silence England had built around that unhappy island. The young men of Ireland were inspired with a new courage and when they had an opportunity last December at the general election they "self-determined" for an Irish republic, feeling sure they were carrying out the wishes of the President of the United States. They still have faith in our President despite unfavorable appearances.

Eamonn DeValera, the President of the Irish republic, is in our midst to make an appeal to the American people. He has already won millions of Americans to his cause. He is a young man who has made untold sacrifices for the ideals which he represents. Life would be very easy and comfortable did he but chose to abandon those ideals, but he has taken up the harder but the nobler cause while his young wife and his six small children languish in Ireland and sigh for the absent husband and father. Eamonn DeValera is typical of the young men of Ireland to-day—surely to the minds of all liberty-loving Americans their cause is a just cause, and surely this is the time for America to pay her long-standing debt of gratitude to Ireland. The millions of Americans of Irish blood expect this debt to be paid and they have a right to expect it.

No. 6.

Statement submitted by District Attorney Joseph C. Pelletier, of Boston, supreme advocate of the Knights of Columbus, and speaking in behalf of the bench and bar committee of the Irish Victory Fund:

After hearing the wonderful presentation of the case against the proposed league of nations set forth in such logical, powerful, and truly American spirit, I feel the thrill of the schoolboy after first learning the story of Washington and the patriot fathers who won our independence and made possible this great Republic.

Every man of Irish blood or descent, every man from the country of oppressed peoples felt that the 14 points laid down by President Wilson justified the last sacrifice and the greatest conceivable loss. We entered the World War for humanity, for democracy, that men everywhere might be lifted from oppression and restored to their God-given right of self-determination. Which of all the subject peoples of the world so nearly fell within the limitations prescribed by our President, which of them all so clearly appealed to the American heart and head and hand as the republic of Ireland?

Always a nation, ever protesting foreign oppression, more recently adopting a free government by public vote, to-day as ever held in subjection by the armed forces of the dominant aggressor of 700 years, Ireland claims her right to recognition, her right to the fruits of this great world conflict, and the American people will not deny her rights. The league of nations as presented ignores the declaration of President Wilson, ignores the right of the subject people of Ireland, ignores the government of the republic of Ireland lawfully set up—to adopt it as written is to deny the principles upon which we entered the war and to say to subject peoples, unless the Big Four say so you shall not be recognized, you must invoke bloodshed and war to assert your rights, and we will use our joint united forces to keep you down.

Gentlemen, let there be no league based on fraud, on the rule of might! Unless the republic of Ireland is openly acknowledged, let us refuse to join in a conspiracy to cheat the downtrodden of the world! Let us insist that the 14 points be accepted as declared, not subject to hidden treaties and agreements making them null and void.

No. 7.

STATEMENT OF HON. JOSEPH P. MAHONEY, CHICAGO, ILL., FORMER STATE SENATOR.

Mr. Chairman, a time has again arrived when the Senate of the United States must exercise the power imposed on it by the Constitution for the preservation of this great Nation. As president of the United Societies of

Chicago, I am commissioned to attend the meeting of your committee to-day to inform your honorable body of the views of some 750,000 people of Irish blood who reside in Chicago upon the question of adopting or approving the league of nations pending before your committee. As American citizens we stand unalterably opposed to this measure, and we most earnestly call upon your committee to report it back to the Senate with the recommendation that the Senate refuse to concur in and approve of it. We believe that the country has greater cause to-day in view of the intrigues, secret treaties, and deception on the part of the great nations who propose to be the signatories with us to this proposed league of nations, to refrain from entering into any entangling alliance with European nations than we did at the date of the warning in Washington's Farewell Address. For more than a hundred years we have prospered in attending to our own affairs; let us stick to the old plan. Gentlemen, in the name of freedom, let us return once more to that honorable and independent position among the nations under which we have made such remarkable progress, that to-day we are the foremost Nation of the world. Let us stand firmly for the struggling young republics growing out of the recent war, and extend to them our early recognition and support. This is the wish of the people of Irish birth or descent in the United States and of all Americans who love their land.

No. 8.

STATEMENT OF JUDGE O'NEILL RYAN, OF ST. LOUIS.

SENATORS: As I understand, you desire to hear our views on the league of nations in so far as we represent public sentiment in our respective communities, and also what is our special viewpoint as to the effect of the league on Ireland's right which she has determined to a republican form of government. Together with my colleagues from St. Louis, I represent many thousands of Americans of Irish birth or descent in various organizations; also we believe we speak the sentiments of many more thousands of the race who are not in any organized bodies, but who are profoundly interested in this question and who believe that Ireland should be recognized by this Government as a republic. We may safely say that all for whom we speak are confident that if this league is adopted in its present form and this Government becomes signatory, Ireland will continue as she has been for centuries, a subject country, and under a power that has never hesitated to drain her life's blood physically and economically. Personally, I am absolutely opposed to my country becoming a signatory to this league no matter what amendments or reservations thereto may be made. I believe in its essence it strikes at and is antagonistic to the Constitution of our country and the fundamental principles of human liberty upon which that Constitution is rested. We have guaranteed by our Federal Constitution a republican form of government to every State of the Union. By this instrument we would undertake to guarantee the perpetuation of forms of government which are hostile to our own both in their principles and in their practices. That the United States should undertake to guarantee with its blood and treasure the perpetuation of monarchies and empires should be unthinkable to any sound American mind. I believe this sentiment against any league of nations so far as our country is concerned is rapidly growing, and that the great debates which have been going on in the Senate chamber are informing and convincing the American people who have hitherto been kept in ignorance of the facts and have been deluded by the specious pretext that the league meant peace.

So far as its immediate effect upon Ireland is concerned, I recall the question of just this morning, that Senator Brandagee addressed to Mr. Walsh, inquiring if he had read the address of Senator Walsh and what he believed as to his argument that this league would protect Ireland. Mr. Walsh answered he had not read the speech. I read every word of it, as I have read perhaps every word of all the addresses upon this subject in the Senate, as they have appeared in the Congressional Record. The answer is that the argument of Senator Walsh is absolutely fallacious. By article 10 we undertake in substance to respect and guarantee the territorial integrity and political independence of the signatory powers, guaranteeing that territorial integrity against external ag-

gression. No one but knows that Ireland unaided can not throw off by force the yoke of British tyranny. But in one of two ways can the Irish republic become de jure facto as it is now de facto. One is by its recognition by the United States and the effect of that being to compel its recognition by England, and the other is by revolution aided by outside power. Ireland to-day is an armed camp. It is under a military despotism like unto that to which Belgium was subjected by Germany, and Egypt is now subjected by England, and Korea by Japan. If this league were joined in by this Nation, and Ireland sought to overthrow that power which now dominates her by military force and there was interference on her behalf by any other country so that the words "external aggression" came into effect, if England needed or asked our aid it would become our duty at once to give to her our military power to destroy Ireland's efforts at freedom. In other words, it is absolutely impossible for Ireland unaided to successfully revolt against English power. We would guarantee by this covenant that no foreign power could interfere on her behalf without knowing that this Nation would with her money and men take England's side of the conflict. That is the plain reading of the covenant.

However my own feeling, and as I said before, I believe the feeling is growing enormously, is that in no circumstances and with no reservations or amendments, should we become signatory to the league. Not even if Ireland were independent, if she were a republic, and her territorial integrity and form of government guaranteed by this Nation, would it still be either just or wise for this Nation to become party thereto. That I say, in view of what we know to be the gross injustices and flagrant violation of the rights of subject peoples that have been perpetrated by at least two of the great signatory powers and that we would guarantee if we became party, and we know not what other secret arrangements have been made by which other peoples are plundered and their countries divided like the vultures plucked at the vitals of Prometheus, Ireland would not want her liberty at the expense of the liberties of other peoples. The Senate alone stands between the people of this country and the Constitution of our Government, and those who would destroy the people and violate the Constitution. Many of you gentlemen have made a magnificent fight against this league, and once again it becomes manifest that the people of this country must turn to the Republicans to save it from desecration and division.

No. 9.

STATEMENT OF DANIEL T. O'CONNELL, DIRECTOR OF THE IRISH NATIONAL BUREAU,
WASHINGTON, D. C.

The wave of spontaneous support of the cause of Ireland that has swept America and finds voice at this hearing is convincing proof that the people of the United States demand that Ireland be free.

The teachings of Washington, Jefferson, Patrick Henry, John and Samuel Adams, John Hancock, James Otis, and the patriots who founded the United States have not been forgotten. America is aroused in defense of the liberties the Revolutionary patriots won for the colonists, their descendants, and the millions of emigrants and their descendants who found under the Stars and Stripes protection from oppression and all the privileges of human liberties.

The league of nations treaty now before the Senate must be rejected. It is the product of British scheming. If ratified it will destroy our most cherished traditions, and Ireland will be more fettered by British chains than ever before.

No. 10.

RESOLUTIONS OF IRISH NATIONAL ASSEMBLY, EXPRESSING THANKS TO UNITED STATES SENATE.

Dr. Patrick McCartan, envoy of the republic of Ireland in the United States, August 25, 1919, handed to Vice President Marshall, as President of the Senate, a parchment communication from the Dail Eirann (Irish national assembly) expressing the thanks of the elected representatives of the Irish people for the recent action of the Senate in requesting the American commission to the peace

conference to secure for President Eamon de Valera and his colleagues on the Irish republic's peace commission a hearing before the peace conference at Paris; and for the expression of the Senate's sympathy with the aspirations of the Irish people to govern themselves. The following is the text of the communication in full:

TO THE PRESIDENT OF THE SENATE OF THE UNITED STATES,

Washington, D. C.

SIR: We have the honor to inform you that the subjoined resolution was unanimously adopted by the Dail Eriann in session assembled in the Mansion House, Dublin, on 17th June, 1919.

Accept, sir, the assurance of our high esteem.

ARTHUR GRIFFITH, *Acting President.*

SEAN O'CELLEAGH, *Speaker.*

"The duly elected representatives of Ireland assembled in legislative session in Dublin, this 17th day of June, 1919, before taking up the business of the day, desire to record their appreciation of the action of the Congress of the United States in behalf of Ireland, and in particular of the following resolutions adopted by the Senate of the United States:

"That the Senate of the United States earnestly requests the American peace commission at Versailles to endeavor to secure for Eamonn de Valera, Arthur Griffith, and George Noble Count Plunkett a hearing before the peace conference in order that they may present the case to Ireland.

"And, further, the Senate of the United States expresses its sympathy with the aspirations of the Irish people for a government of their own choice."

"It is therefore resolved, That the elected government of Ireland be, and is hereby directed to convey the thanks of the Irish nation to the Congress of the United States, to declare that the people of Ireland cherish no designs upon the rights of territories of other nations, but ardently seek to live in cordial peace with, and as one of, the free nations of the world; and to assure the people of America that the ties of blood and friendship which subsisted between both nations in the days of their subjection to one common oppressor have endured and are indissoluble."

No. 11.

STATEMENT OF HON. EUGENE F. KINKEAD, FORMER MEMBER OF CONGRESS AND FORMER MAJOR, UNITED STATES ARMY.

I appeal to the Senate not to accept any covenant which would prevent this Nation from following its time-honored traditions in giving aid to peoples striving for independence. The covenant, as framed, would keep Ireland, Egypt, India, Korea, and colonies in South Africa in bondage. To accept it would defeat the purpose for which we entered the World War and align us on the side of autocracy and against the right of peoples to determine for themselves the character of government under which they shall live. This right we concede to Germany. Shall we deny it to Ireland? We can only judge the future by the past, and our knowledge of the Government of Great Britain, as distinguished from its great people, should convince all fair-minded Americans that the adoption of article 10 of the covenant will rivet anew the chains on Ireland. Seventy-five years ago President John Tyler declared that he was no half-way man regarding Irish independence. To-day 75,000,000 Americans demand that the covenant that shall form the basis of any league of nations shall embody the same principle.

No 12.

STATEMENT OF KATHERINE HUGHES, SECRETARY IRISH NATIONAL BUREAU.

MR. CHAIRMAN AND GENTLEMEN OF THE COMMITTEE: In 1916 hero hearts in Ireland again rose in armed rebellion and proclaimed, "In the name of God and of the dead generations from which she receives her old traditions of nationhood," that Ireland had a God-given right to freedom.

They fell—Ireland's latest of hero rebels—but in the travail of 1916 the Republic of Ireland was born. This Republic lives to-day, as truly a Republic as that of America in 1778, when its Congress, through its envoy, Franklin, pledged itself to aid in the liberation of Ireland if her oppression by England continued.

This Republic of Ireland has to-day the recognition of but one State—that of Russia—as the American Republic in its infancy had only the recognition of France. The man who presides over the Congress of Ireland to-day was elected to that position by the unanimous vote of all the representatives of the Irish Congress, elected in their turn by the combined ballots of 75 per cent of the Irish Nation.

There is not in the world to-day a government more essentially "of the people, by the people, and for the people" than that of the Irish Republic, yet if America ratifies the peace treaty with its component league of nations, guaranteeing the integrity of the British Empire as it exists in international day, America would be guilty of aiding to suppress this government of the Irish people; it would be throttling Ireland's heroic expression of self-determination made by ballot last December in the face of an English army of occupation; it would be reforging England's chains on Ireland by increasing the "right of might" which alone keeps her bound to-day.

On the other hand, if America rejects this league of nations and its sections buttressing British imperialism, America will be free to give official recognition to the government of the Irish republic and so make Ireland to-day in the eyes of the whole world an independent nation. This a free America can do without a drop of bloodshed and with only a passing protest from England, so lately America's associate in a war for democracy.

If, however, America ratifies this treaty and component league, she will not be free to act as liberator of this gallant little country, which is the motherland of 20,000,000 in America—not free to be liberator of Ireland, which was first to come to the aid of America in her struggle for liberty—not free to be liberator of Ireland, whose president even now is America's gift to Ireland, for Eamonn de Valera was born under the folds of Old Glory.

This invaluable gift was renewed by America in 1916, when nothing but his American birth stood between Eamonn de Valera and the rifles of the executioners, who had taken the lives of his comrades in arms.

America has lately been associated in a great world war and has exchanged views with many other States, but I can not believe that America has sacrificed or will sacrifice one iota of its historic principles of liberty and the rights of national freedom, which make America to-day the hope of oppressed peoples everywhere.

America is true to the America of the past, and America will, I firmly believe, soon give Eamonn de Valera to Ireland a third time—not as a child of destiny nor as an imprisoned rebel, but as a victorious president. On that day America will not only give Ireland her president. She will also give to Ireland the priceless gift of freedom. She will reestablish Ireland in the eyes of the world as a sovereign nation.

No. 13.

STATEMENT OF MR. PATRICK J. LYNCH, OF INDIANAPOLIS, IND., CLERK OF THE SUPREME AND APPELLATE COURTS OF INDIANA.

Mr. Chairman and gentlemen of the committee, citizens of Irish blood are appearing before your committee in the earnest hope that out of the great world conflict recently ended there may come, as a part of the fruits of victory, a fulfillment of the great principle of self-determination for all nations, weak and small, as laid down by President Wilson.

Throughout all the annals of civilization there is no parallel of the steadfast and continuous courage shown by the Irish people for more than 700 years, cherishing without intermission the hope and national aspiration of that freedom for which they have so often fought. Racially the Irish are a separate people; theirs is a national spirit; their country is their own, and has been wrested from them only by the power of might, not upon the great God-given principle of right.

At this time when the hopes and aspirations of all peoples, the world over, especially those long oppressed, is to gain their national freedom, and in the light of the charter enunciated by the President of the United States of the

right of all nations, great and small alike, to live under that form of government which they themselves want, and such hopes are being realized by younger nations, surely Ireland may, in truth and justice, ask that the centuries-long struggle in this dawn of the new era of making the world safe for democracy be ended forever.

No. 14.

JOINT STATEMENT OF REV. JOHN J. MORAN, OF YOUNGSTOWN, OHIO, AND CHARLES P. MOONEY, OF CLEVELAND, OHIO, REPORTING IN BEHALF OF THE STATE CONVENTION OF THE ANCIENT ORDER OF HIBERNIANS OF OHIO.

GENTLEMEN OF THE FOREIGN RELATIONS COMMITTEE:

Ireland has, by its recent vote at the last parliamentary election held in that country, given expression to its demand for complete independence and voiced its opposition to a union with Great Britain by a vote of 1,516,779 in favor of an Irish republic as against 308,713 votes in favor of the union. As the men who advocated complete separation had been leaders of the revolution of 1916, and most of them had just been released from British prisons, because of their part therein, they squarely raised the issue of complete separation in their campaign for election. There can be no question raised that the Irish people misunderstood the issue involved in that election. It was an overwhelming majority of the people of Ireland expressing the right of self-determination and expressing their desire to establish an Irish republic and govern themselves.

Since that election, the executive officers have been elected and are now in a position to take over the government of that country and perform all of the functions of government so that the question of separation of Ireland from England is not one that may become a serious problem in the future. It is the present existing condition—a condition which has resulted in the occupation of Ireland by a large military force with all the paraphernalia of war. Large districts throughout Ireland have been occupied and the free movement of the people has been repressed in the same manner as the movements of the Belgians were repressed during the invasion of that country by Germany; in other words, Ireland to-day is in a condition of insurrection and England is using the same methods that were used by Germany when they occupied Belgium. The right of self-government of Ireland and the expression of the people for separation was supported by the American people as enunciated by our President that small nations desiring self-government and giving expression to that desire would have the protection of this great Republic in establishing a government suitable to their desires and wishes. The effect of article 10 of the covenant of the league of nations is to completely withdraw that promise of protection and to declare instead that we will not permit small nations, excepting such as were in possession of the enemy, to establish and exercise the rights and functions of independent government.

The men who are fighting for the covenant of the league of nations as it now exists with article 10 included therein are as false to the principles under which we were asked to enter the war as a human being can be false to any principle, because in accepting article 10 we are doing the reverse of what we promised to do. You may ask what effect article 10 of the league of nations will have on Ireland. This question involves the present international status of Ireland as distinct from the wishes of the people as expressed in the last election. Under international law, Ireland is recognized as an integral part of the British Empire and I presume in considering article 10 you are bound to recognize her status as such. This being so, in adopting that part of article 10 which reads as follows:

“The high contracting parties undertake to respect and preserve as against external aggression the territorial integrity and existing political independence of all States members of the league. In case of any such aggression, or in case of any threat or danger of such aggression, the executive council shall advise upon the means by which the obligation shall be fulfilled.”

In other words, you are undertaking to pledge this Great Republic to continue Ireland as a part of the British Empire, and under article 11 you are placing in the hands of the countries party to this treaty, namely the United

States, Great Britain, Japan, France, and Italy, and such other countries as may become a party to the league, the power of determining for this body the necessity of entering into a war with any country that should attempt to assist the Irish people in their struggle for independence. This is not a possibility, as it has arisen in the history of Ireland in the last three centuries. In 1601 Spain landed armed officers in Ireland for the purpose of assisting the Irish people in securing its independence. If there had been a league of nations at the time, the league under articles 10 and 11 would be obliged to come to the assistance of England, and had we, when we obtained our independence, become a party to such league of nations, we would have been obliged to enter into war with France in 1798 when Napoleon sent Gen. Humbert with 6,000 men and landed in Killala Bay in Ireland for the purpose of assisting the Irish in securing independence. International conditions may bring about a similar situation at any time.

The effect of article 10 is to take out of the hands of the Congress of the United States the power to declare war and to place it in the hands of the high contracting parties to this covenant. In other words, the adoption of the covenant of the league of nations is a surrender or an attempt to surrender the power to declare war which is vested in the Congress of the United States. To my mind the insuperable obstacle of articles 10 and 11 is that he takes away from Congress the power of making war and places it in the hands of a body other than the Congress of the United States. The granted power to Congress by the States to declare war is a delegated one and is limited to the power expressly granted for such powers as may be necessarily implied from the granted power. The declaration in article 1, section 7, of our Constitution is, "The Congress shall have power, among other things, to declare war."

This section does not say that this body shall have power to delegate the right to declare war to any other body. This can be done only by a constitutional amendment. An amendment transferring the power to declare war from Congress and give it to the high contracting parties in the league of nations.

I am here first as an American citizen to protest against the adoption of the league of nations; as an American citizen, a citizen of the State of Ohio and an accredited representative of the Ancient Order of Hibernians of Ohio, not only on the ground that such action would be unconstitutional, but on the larger ground that it is wholly immoral for this country, the leading Republic in the world, to endeavor to enter into an agreement which has for its object the repression of the rights of a liberty-loving people to decide for themselves the form of government under which they desire to live.

No. 15.

STATEMENT OF MATTHEW CUMMINGS, OF BOSTON, MASS., EX-NATIONAL PRESIDENT
OF THE ANCIENT ORDER OF HIBERNIANS.

Mr. Chairman and gentlemen of the Senate Foreign Relations Committee, I believe that it is admitted by fair-minded men everywhere that Ireland is entitled to her freedom. The Governments of Australia and Canada have passed resolutions repeatedly in favor of Irish freedom. The labor organizations of England have gone on record demanding that justice be done to Ireland and that she should be allowed to determine her own form of government. The legislatures of a majority of the States in the Union have passed resolutions advocating Irish independence. The House of Representatives of the United States Government and later on the Senate of the United States, by a vote of 67 to 1 advocated freedom for Ireland and asked our representatives in Paris to see to it that Ireland got a hearing at the peace conference. The Irish race convention, representing 20,000,000 in America of Irish blood sent three commissioners to Paris for the purpose of having President Wilson and the American representatives at the peace conference place the Irish question before that body.

The President on this country entering the war stated repeatedly that all nations must be granted the right to determine their own form of government, and more than a million American boys of Irish blood fought under the Stars and Stripes convinced that American success in the war meant also the freedom of the land of their ancestors. If the pledges made by our Government during the war are not carried out, a stigma will rest upon the splendid traditions of this

country. Therefore we appeal to you as the treaty-making power under the Constitution of our country to see to it that the pledges to small nations made by the Chief Executive in the dark hours of the war are fulfilled and that Ireland should be accorded the right of self-determination. We earnestly protest against the covenant of the league of nations and ask that it be rejected as a whole. We believe that it is impossible to amend it so as to protect American rights and sovereignty. We believe that in articles 10 and 11 of the covenant of the league of nations is adopted Ireland would be deprived of her liberty for all time and that the people of that long-suffering country should be given an opportunity to lead their own life in their own way and under their own form of government, at peace with the world and established as an independent nation.

No. 16.

STATEMENT PRESENTED BY THE ADVISORY COMMITTEE OF THE IRISH VICTORY FUND, BOSTON, MASS.

The delegates to this hearing from Massachusetts, representing an overwhelming majority of the 875,000 persons in the Irish racial group in Massachusetts, wish to add their protest against the approval in any form of the proposed league of nations.

The enactment of this proposed league will accomplish effectually what the British Government has in various ways been trying to bring about for more than a generation, to wit, the creation of a supertreaty body, which will nullify the power of the whole people, as represented in the United States Senate, to pass on and approve treaties with foreign Governments.

We protest against this treaty because of its certainty of economic enslavement of the United States, with its inevitable consequence in unemployment and attending train of evils.

Because of its geographical isolation from the sources of raw material and the buying population of the United States, New England has a peculiar interest in the failure of the Paris conference to even mention, provide for, or to regulate the "freedom of the seas," and in thus doing has, as a result of the victory over the Central Powers, substituted the menace of British sea control, based on "navalism" for the "militarism" defeated through American intervention.

From the headquarters of Tory sentiment we appeal to the American spirit, which in the first part of the nineteenth century opposed a similar British attempt to control the seas and gave to the world the Monroe doctrine.

We appeal to the spirit which, in the forties, after the advent of the iron ship, met another English attempt to control the seas by building in 15 years the largest merchant marine up to that time ever produced in the world, and contrast this with this attempt in the proposed league of nations again to enslave the merchant marine of this country.

We appeal to the spirit which built the Panama Canal that our surplus products could have opened to them the markets of the Orient, and contrast it with the action which in 1913 removed by law the preferences to American shipping then obtained, and to-day in the Shantung outrage has closed to the trade of the United States a market of a half-billion souls.

We protest against British dominance over the cables and mail communications of the world, and refer the committee to the recent report of the United States Foreign Trade Council on this subject.

We refer the Senate committee to the report of the Senate investigation committee of 1913 on the operations of the alien shipping trust, the conditions then complained of and admitted to exist, which remain to-day to menace the commercial future and economic progress of the United States.

We respectfully suggest to your honorable committee that they investigate the stifling of American aspirations for freedom of the seas, through the influence in the various chambers of commerce and business organizations in the largest cities in the United States, of the paid agents of steamship companies, and others representing foreign shipping interests.

We respectfully suggest that before coming to a decision on this question your honorable committee make inquiry into the action during the war of the British Government, which, through "orders in council" not sanctioned by international law or the comity between friendly nations, committed numerous

acts obviously designed to cripple our commerce and trade during the war, and especially with relation to the effect of these "orders in council" as obvious preparation for the proposed British league of nations now being considered.

We protest against any situation which permits British vessels to demand and to get free wharves in practically all the cities on the Atlantic seaboard, which represent approximately 5 per cent interest on an American investment of \$200,000,000, and which puts it within the power of the alien shipping trust to deny American cities the right to do foreign business through these ports, except at its pleasure.

This we do in the name of justice, of honor, and in the American spirit of independence. While the United States remains on the seas by favor of any foreign Government, this country is in economic slavery.

This is an American question. If America settles this question right and the principles under which we entered the war are insisted on, Ireland, with the rest of the world, will share in the resulting benefit.

We are Americans first, last, and always.

We ask that the present proposal for the league of nations be opposed for the honor of our country.

BOSTON ADVISORY COMMITTEE

IRISH VICTORY FUND.

JOHN MORTON, *Chairman*;

EDWARD F. MCSWEENEY,

JOHN H. H. MCNAMEE,

EDWARD W. QUINN,

DANIEL FOLEY,

DANIEL T. O'CONNELL,

JAMES O'SULLIVAN,

Delegates.

No. 17.

LETTER OF THOMAS F. COONEY AND OTHERS.

WASHINGTON, D. C., August 30, 1919.

To the Committee on Foreign Relations, United States Senate,

Washington, D. C.

SIRS: The Irish race of Rhode Island, through its duly-accredited representatives, in attendance at a meeting of your committee, held on Saturday, August 30, 1919, to consider a proposed league of nations, hereby enters its protest against the adoption of the proposed league in its present form.

The reasons for our protest are: That it is un-American in that it means the abandonment of the traditions and ideals for which this country has always stood; that it creates an alliance with European powers and forces us to take part in the embroilments of those powers; that it means the enslavement of millions of people; and that it denies to those people the right to determine for themselves the form of government under which they want to live; and that it means the absolute surrender of the principles for which this country fought.

Further, we protest against the ratification of the proposed league and peace treaty, because it fails to recognize the government of the republic of Ireland, a government that is the choice of 80 per cent of the people of Ireland, and which is prevented from functioning in every department because of the military power maintained by England in Ireland—a military that is brutal and savage in its treatment of the Irish people.

Further, it condones and perpetuates a flagrant breach of the promises made by the representatives of England in procuring the entrance of the United States into the war.

The representatives of the Irish race in Rhode Island urge upon your consideration, in support of this protest, the numberless and invaluable contributions of the Irish in establishing and maintaining the American form of government, to which they have looked throughout its history for encouragement and support of the inalienable right of freedom—"That government of the people, by the people, for the people shall not perish from the earth."

The protest herewith presented is submitted by us primarily as American citizens, mindful of the debt of gratitude owed by our country to Ireland, and

desirous of preserving the fundamental principles of our government in their pristine strength and purity.

THE IRISH RACE OF RHODE ISLAND,
By THOMAS F. COONEY.
CORNELIUS C. MOON.
PATRICK J. MURPHY.
DANIEL E. DOHERTY.

No. 18.

TELEGRAM TO CONGRESSMAN NOLAN REPRESENTING THE UNANIMOUS SENTIMENT OF THE IRISH SOCIETIES OF CALIFORNIA AGAINST SECTION 10 OF THE LEAGUE OF NATIONS.

SAN FRANCISCO, CALIF., *August 29.*

Hon. JOHN I. NOLAN, *Washington D. C.*

Please represent our San Francisco and northern California societies and Irish freedom fund committee of California at hearing before committee to-morrow morning.

ANDREW J. GALLAGHER.

No. 19.

JOINT STATEMENT OF MICHAEL L. FAHEY, PAUL F. SPAIN, AND JOSEPH T. BRENNAN, OF BOSTON, MASS.

Ireland's claim for independence was given a new birth upon the declaration of President Wilson when our nation joined in the contest for the defeat of Germany. For centuries her patriots had waged the fight for freedom against a world tyrant, against a people who dominated through force, a people who ruled with an iron hand, whose hands were red with blood and who were guilty of the most abominable crimes.

What country in all the world has suffered as Ireland in the contest to regain independence? The most outrageous crime, and the one to which little attention has been given, which England perpetrated upon the Irish people occurred during the nineteenth century, when, through its cruel laws, the Irish people were scattered throughout the world. But that result, as shown to-day, strengthened her people, and to-day their power will be shown to be sufficiently strong to compel England to grant to Ireland the independence her people have long prayed for.

No. 20.

STATEMENT OF HUGH O'NEILL, OF CHICAGO, SPEAKING AS A REPRESENTATIVE OF THE COMMITTEE OF ONE HUNDRED FOR AN IRISH REPUBLIC.

Mr. CHAIRMAN and GENTLEMEN OF THE COMMITTEE.

The Americans of the Irish race in the great Middle West, as in all other parts of America, urge the defeat of the proposed league of nations because it impairs the sovereignty of the United States, violates the principles for which we entered the war, creates an unholy alliance, nullifies the Declaration of Independence, creates a superstate, endangers the Constitution, destroys the Monroe doctrine, recognizes the breakdown of nationalism and the creation of an international power, gives to England the control of the seas, and guarantees to England the possession of Ireland against the wish of the Irish people.

The league of nations impairs the sovereignty of the United States because it places the United States Government under the control of a superstate operating through an assembly and a council, the United States in the assembly having only 1 vote in 45, and England saving 6 and the practical control of the majority of the other votes, and in the council only 1 vote in 9 and no vote at all when her interests are at stake. Because it requires us to maintain permanent armies upon foreign soil to police the discontented subjects of bloated monarchies or crush the tumults of peoples indulging in the wild theories of socialism or anarchy.

Because it takes away from the United States Congress the right to declare war or conclude peace. Because it creates a supergovernment that would be an unrestrained and unlimited trust which would dominate our international and domestic affairs. The league of nations violates the principles for which America entered the war, and as the President, the spokesman of America, says, "We entered the war for the ultimate peace of the world and for the liberation of its people; for the rights of nations great and small and the privilege of men everywhere to choose their own way of life and obedience; for the reign of law based upon the consent of the governed; for the rights and liberties of small nations; for affording material guaranties of political and territorial independence for great and small nations alike.

"We are fighting for the liberty, the self government, and vindicated development of all people." (May 26, 1917.) "And that the people of the world shall choose their own masters and govern their own destinies, not as we wish, but as they wish."

The league of nations creates an unholy alliance and violates the doctrine of George Washington as to no entangling alliances. Are we ready to admit that Washington was a dreamer, that nationalism has broken down, and that a Bolsheviki internationalism shall be the form of our new freedom? An alliance would be destructive of American liberty, and an alliance with England in a league of nations would be abhorrent to the great body of the American people.

The league of nations would nullify the Declaration of Independence because it ignores the fundamental truth declared as the basis of good Government that all just governments derive their powers from the consent of the governed. It ignores the self-evident truth that all peoples are born free and equal, because it would leave the Irish in political servitude and seal their doom by article 10, which guarantees the territorial integrity of the signatory powers.

The league of nations endangers the Constitution because it suspends the guarantees of the United States and the State constitution. It limits the functions of the Congress, limits the jurisdiction of the Supreme Courts of the United States, and dislodges the powers of both the legislative and judicial branches and either assumes them or places them under the control of the President, thereby making him a virtual dictator.

The league of nations destroys the Monroe Doctrine as it takes away from it the character of a national policy and reduces it to the level of a regional understudy.

For these reasons we are unalterably opposed to the league of nations.

No. 21.

STATEMENT OF RICHARD W. WOLFE, OF CHICAGO, FORMER PRESIDENT COOK COUNTY REAL ESTATE BOARD OF CHICAGO, IN BEHALF OF THE COMMITTEE OF 100 FOR AN IRISH REPUBLIC.

Mr. Chairman and gentlemen, I am opposed to the proposed league of nations because its provisions are in opposition to the great principles for which our country fought in the big war, to make the world safe for democracy and to secure the rights of small nations. This denial of the principles for which we fought has filled the hearts of American citizens with disappointment, dissatisfaction, and unrest.

I am further opposed to the proposed league of nations because it would doom Ireland to perpetual servitude to England. To do this would be a grave injustice not only to Ireland but also a grave wrong to America.

You, gentlemen, have red blood in your veins, and you resent an insult. You are human, and you resist and strike back at anybody or anything that robs you of your property, your rights, and opportunities.

It is because of these very human reasons that the Irish question is an American question. We of the Irish race in America resent insult and resist and strike back at the enemy who would rob us and assassinate our character. England in order to maintain her hold upon Ireland thinks it desirable to destroy the influence, assassinate the character and injure in every conceivable way the Irish race in this country. So that it takes 10, 20, or 30 per cent more brains and more energy for a man of the Irish race than for

a man of the English or Scotch races, or other races to accomplish the same results in this country. Now, there can not be inflicted upon a part of the community or a part of the nation a loss or injury without corresponding loss and injury to the community or the nation as a whole.

The stage Irishman was manufactured in the London music halls and shipped to this country to aid the deadly work of the murderer of the Irish character by that deadliest of weapons, ridicule. Newspapers, books, periodicals, the lecture platform, and more recently the motion picture—every avenue of publicity—has been used to besmirch the Irish race in America. Provost Marshal Crowder has reported that the percentage of Irish who waived exemption was much higher than that of English or Scotch or other races. But the English propagandists would have us believe differently. England has spent millions for propaganda, and the lies told about the Irish are enough to curse the world. It is, I submit, sound American policy to remove the cause of this friction, of this humiliation, insult, and injury to American citizens of the Irish race. The cause is the enslavement of Ireland by England. A free Ireland would remove the motive for English attack upon American citizens of the Irish race.

Besides, it would, more than anything else, help to bring about that which every good American citizen wants to see, that it is a harmonious American nation, all of the races coming together in the melting pot, and commingling and uniting for the common good of the Republic. There should be no friction between the English race and the Irish race in this country, and there would be none if Ireland were free, because then the business of the propagandist was at an end. The paid lecturers spreading poison and hate against the Irish race in America would be out of a job. The Irish question is an American question, and we appeal to you to look upon it as such.

We went to war to right the wrongs of small nations, to make democracy safe for the world. Ireland by a plebiscite has declared for a republic. Indeed, Ireland is the only one of the small nations that has had a plebiscite and expressed its self-determination. How can any American consistently deny Ireland's right to a republican form of government? How can any American deny a republic in favor of an empire with a caste system which is mediocre where the law of primogeniture and entail persists, where a state church takes part in government, where a house of lords rules with all its power of titles, wealth, and prestige?

Ireland's case furnishes the supreme example of merciless profiteering and exploitation. Let us take the figures on Irish population. I quote from a British publication, the *Statesman's Year Book*. It shows that in the year 1800 the population of Ireland was 6,000,000, while the population of England was 8,000,000. In 1850 the population of Ireland rose to nearly 9,000,000. The population of Ireland to-day is less than 4,500,000. The population of England is 36,000,000. John Stuart Mill, the English economist, has stated that Ireland can support a population of 25,000,000. And everyone who knows anything about it knows that Ireland can support a population of 25,000,000 to 30,000,000. Belgium has a population of 8,000,000 and is less than one-third the size of Ireland. Belgium and Holland combined are not so large as Ireland. The decline in population is an arrow sign as to Ireland's decay in other ways—industrially, socially, educationally. Before the war Ireland was doing less than one-third of 1 per cent of the export business of the United Kingdom.

The ruling class of England is blind, as privileged classes have always been blind. If it was not blind, this English ruling class would realize that Ireland fully populated and prosperous would be a better customer and certainly a better friend to England than Ireland depopulated and disaffected. Ireland would be a profitable customer of this country, far more so than countries far away whose trade we are eager to get. Ireland occupies a very advantageous position in the highway of commerce, a position similar to that of important business corners in the center of city life.

Ireland free would be a country of 25,000,000 to 30,000,000, prosperous and thriving, and of great potential value to America.

The question is asked, Would we go to war with England to free Ireland? That is not a fair or honest question. That question is not now before us. That question was settled when we went into the war for democracy and the rights of small nations, and when England accepted our aid with that declaration sent out to the world. To keep faith with our soldiers dead in France and Flanders and other parts of the world, to keep faith with the crippled and

maimed, to keep faith with weeping mothers and sad firesides of America, that is the question now confronting us. We ask you to save American honor. It is not America, but England, that would go to war should you decide to preserve the faith. England will not dare do it.

No. 22.

ADDRESS OF MR. SHAEMAS O'SHEEL, REPRESENTING THE WILLIAM PEARSE BRANCH OF THE FRIENDS OF IRISH FREEDOM AND THE WILLIAM ROONEY SOCIETY, BOTH OF NEW YORK.

Mr. Chairman and Senators of the committee, within recent months not only have I been made aware of the sentiments of the two societies which I have the honor to represent here, but, having addressed 46 audiences in New York, New Jersey, Connecticut, Rhode Island, Massachusetts, and New Hampshire, I have felt the pulse of thousands of American citizens, and I am convinced that in the two thoughts which are all I shall try to present to you I correctly represent very widespread and deeply felt convictions.

In the first place, Americans of Irish blood oppose any such league of nations as here proposed far more vehemently from a purely American standpoint than from any thought for Ireland. A fact which is proved by the earnest and thoroughgoing approval which every audience I have addressed has expressed when I said that if Irish-Americans were to be offered the bribe of immediate liberation of Ireland, with the repayment to Ireland of every penny ever drained out of her by England as the price of their support of a league which would infringe American rights, there would not be a man or woman of all the millions of them who would consider the proposition for a minute.

The other thought is this: Two or three Senators have asserted that Ireland's real hope for liberation must be found in paragraph 2 of Article XI of the present league-of-nations covenant, which reads:

"It is also declared to be the fundamental right of each member of the league to bring to the attention of the assembly or of the council any circumstance whatever affecting international relations which threatens to disturb either the peace or the good understanding between nations upon which peace depends."

The idea advanced is that under this paragraph a member of the league might befriend Ireland by bringing its condition under military rule to the attention of the governing bodies of the league. That is undoubtedly true—so true that the English authors of the league covenant have guarded against it by a paragraph which I think has not yet been noticed to-day, paragraph 7 of Article XV, as follows:

"If the dispute between the parties is claimed by one of them and is found by the council to arise out of a matter which by international law is solely within the domestic jurisdiction of that party the council shall so report and shall make no recommendations as to its settlement."

It has been proved here to-day beyond even the attempt to question that the case of Ireland is not a domestic matter, but under all international law an international matter; but that is not the point; the point is that the council shall decide whether they will consider and promulgate it as a domestic or an international matter. If they decide that it is domestic, that is the end. If the people of Ireland were being slaughtered and the American people were aflame to help them, our Government could not even protest further after the council shall have decided that massacre of the Irish people is an English domestic concern. Surely it will be said the American members of council and assembly would never in such circumstances agree to such an interpretation, but if they did not and all others did, there being no unanimous decision, surely the majority decision would necessarily prevail to the extent of estopping all action by the league or its members.

"And the final point to consider is that this paragraph was not in the original draft of the league made public in February, but added entirely anew in the revised draft—purposely, I believe, Mr. Chairman, purposely to further safeguard England against American sympathy for Ireland being expressed through the league. I thank you."

No. 23.

STATEMENT OF R. E. O'MALLEY, OF KANSAS CITY, MO.

GENTLEMEN: I am here as the authorized representative of the Irish-American Societies of Kansas City, Mo., having a membership of more than 5,000 persons. I know of no better method of expressing their opinion on this important question than to file with you a set of resolutions adopted at the thirty-second annual picnic of the Irish-American Societies, of Kansas City, Mo., held in Fairmont Park on Sunday, August 17.

The majority of the people I represent are American born and of Irish ancestry.

In addition to the sentiments expressed in the resolutions filed herewith, I think I can say without fear of truthful contradiction that a great majority of the people of my community are opposed to the document known as the League of Nations and opposed to any document that might involve this Nation in entangling alliances.

(The resolutions referred to follow:)

Whereas there is now before the Senate of the United States for that body's ratification or rejection an instrument known as the league of nations covenant; and

Whereas article 3 of said covenant gives the British six votes in the league's assembly to America's one, even in passing on America's questions. We, with a hundred million population, are given only the same voting power as the negro Republic of Liberia in Africa, the nondescript kingdom of Hedjaz in Asia, and the semisavage island of Hayti in the Caribbean Sea; and

Whereas under article 8 the representatives of foreign nations advise us what size fleet and army America should have; and, once the size is agreed on, it can never be increased except by the unanimous consent of those foreign nations; and

Whereas article 10 binds us to make war for monarchies against smaller nations seeking freedom from imperialism, militarism and tyranny, should any one of said smaller nations in its struggle for freedom receive help from outside sources such as was given our own beloved country by France in the Revolutionary War, such as we gave the Republic of Cuba in its struggle for freedom from the horrible atrocities inflicted on it by the Spanish Kingdom. Under article 10 we are bound if China should ever attempt to recover Shantung, which is under the peace treaty given to Japan, to wage war against a friendly people, who have patterned their Government after our own, in the interest of a pagan monarchy. Likewise, should the recently formed Irish republic resist further misrule by Britain and outside aid is given her, we as Americans are compelled to send our boys across the seas to fight a people struggling for freedom from oppression, a people that in America's struggle against the same nation that is now the oppressor of the Irish race gave their encouragement, sympathy, men and a sum of \$300,000, a large sum indeed at that time, for the cause of American independence; Therefore be it

Resolved, That the Irish-American societies of Kansas City, Mo., gathered at their thirty-first annual picnic, held at Fairmount Park, Sunday, August 17, 1919, gratefully acknowledge the patriotic service Senator James A. Reed is rendering our country in his able and courageous opposition in the Senate of the United States to this measure and respectfully urge Senator Selden P. Spencer to join with Senator Reed in an unrelenting effort to prevent this shameful abdication of this Nation's sovereignty and this unwarranted attempt to make Great Britain a super-state with six votes, while our great Republic, which is and should remain the leading Nation of the world, is ranked alongside the petty kingdoms and barbaric nations of the world. Be it further

Resolved, That we most heartily approve the Mason resolution appropriating necessary funds for the establishment and maintenance of diplomatic representation to the republic of Ireland and that copies of these resolutions be forwarded by the chairman of this gathering to the distinguished Senators mentioned herein and to the Hon. William T. Bland, Representative in Congress from this district; also to the press of the State.

No. 24.

UNANIMOUSLY ADOPTED BY THE DELEGATES TO THE CENTRAL LABOR UNION OF PHILADELPHIA, PA., JULY 13, 1919.

PRESENTED BY WILLIAM J. BOYLE OF PHILADELPHIA, PA.

Resolved, That this Central Labor Union, representing upward of 300,000 workmen, record its protest against the adoption by the United States of the league of nations as at present constituted. It has even been the policy of America to encourage democracy everywhere and it is unthinkable that we should now array ourselves on the side of autocracy by agreeing to article 10 of the covenant of the league of nations, which would compel us to aid in keeping millions of the people of the world in perpetual bondage. We abhor the thought that any group of men other than Americans be empowered to dictate our policies in peace or war. Our slogan is, "America first," and we especially approve that part of the resolution adopted by the delegates to the American Federation of Labor convention held in Atlantic City, N. J., June 9-30, 1919, which declares, "That nothing in the league of nations can be construed as in any way interfering with the freedom of Ireland as recognized by the vote of this convention."

No. 25.

STATEMENT OF EDWARD F. MCSWEENEY, OF BOSTON, MEMBER OF THE ADVISORY COMMITTEE OF THE IRISH VICTORY FUND AND NATIONAL OFFICER FRIENDS OF IRISH FREEDOM.

As I have stated in a series of articles published by the Boston American, the desperate need of civilization today is peace—from armed strife; from capitalistic oppression; from industrial terrorism; to get the world back to a semblance of brotherhood between men. Above all, the American people want peace with honor. Only two years ago a presidential election was won on the slogan that "He kept us out of war." At that time Belgium had been occupied for more than three years; the richest parts of France were in the hands of the Germans and the allied enemy was irresistibly pushing forward to control of the channel ports; England was threatened with invasion and starvation. For three years and three months the world was ringing with stories of atrocities, outrages, barbarism; yet the American people were so opposed to war that even with all the facts before them they decided the choice of the greatest officer in the world on the antiwar issue.

At this time the German plans for world control were substantially consummated, the Teutonic dream of centuries was about to come true. From Berlin to the Persian Gulf the Central Powers were practically in mastery, and with the ultimate victory which was admitted unless America intervened, Germany would retain its control over South Africa, which, with Siberia, will in another generation be the source of the world's food supply.

The imminent collapse of Russia assured German control of the wealth of food and minerals of Siberia and the other undeveloped parts of the former dominion of the Romanoffs.

GERMANS FOUGHT WITHOUT PRETENSE.

Moreover, there was no German pretense about the rights of small people, self-determination, freedom, or democracy.

German control was autocracy, based on the power of might over right.

When the presidential campaign was held in 1916 this was the exact situation in Europe, yet a majority of the voters in the United States voted to reelect the President who had asked for their support because "he kept us out of war."

When, in response to the urging of the Allies, the President, in 1917, announced that American intervention was necessary, he laid down, in language which seemed divinely inspired, a declaration of purposes which made participation seem a holy cause—another Crusade to save the world from sin; to repeat in our generation the story of the American Revolution. With purest altruism and without hope of reward, the United States entered the war to insure for the world forever the things for which Washington fought and secured by American independence.

The war was won by the intervention of the United States, and to-day, eight months after the signing of the armistice, the national delirium of joy shown at its ending has not been justified. The great, patient, loyal heart of America is uneasy. The end of the war has brought, not happiness and contentment, but doubt and apprehension.

At the root of the national distress is disappointment at the failure of the United States' delegates to the peace conference to fulfill the solemn promises made to the nation when it entered and won the war; to the 4,000,000 young men called into armed service, 75,000 of whom were killed believing that they died for a high ideal; and to the 250,000 more or less permanently maimed, each one a living demand for redemption of our pledges.

The altruistic and unselfish spirit which flamed into action with the President's declarations of the purposes for which he made the call for arms has not changed in the slightest. The United States asks for nothing, wants nothing but it has awakened to the fact that after defeating German military despotism it is now asked to abandon American ideals and repudiate America. Having won the war, the United States is denied the right to dictate any vital part of the peace pledges to accept a monarchical dominance, based on "navalism." It welcomed eagerly the idea of a league of nations which was in line with the declaration which caused us to enter the war, but as the facts became known, the people are determined to repudiate the proposed "league of nations," written by Lord Cecil, which, in its lengthy preamble, does not even mention or hint at "liberty," or "self-determination," while confirming mastery of the world in the great powers. At its best, the proposed league of nations is a provocation to war, and at its worst a buttress of imperialism.

ENGLAND BLAMED FOR GREAT WAR.

The nation, willing to make full allowances for the necessary give and take of conflicting national interests to achieve the main end in view, has been reluctantly forced to believe that if the peace conference had insisted on a peace based on our declaration of purposes made before we entered the war the world would to-day be well on the road to peace, and that the seduction of American ideals and pledges by allied flattery, intrigue, and power of persuasion will, if confirmed by the Senate, establish with crushing force the secret treaty agreements; regarding which, on April 7, 1917, at Leeds, President Jowett, of the independent labor party of England, said: "The world war came as the result of England's secret treaties."

It will perpetuate the diplomatic intrigues and selfish balance-of-power agreements with their inevitable consequences of human, racial, and economic oppression, which it was the hope of the United States the war would remove forever.

The league of nations, in short, will undo the work of the American Revolution. It will make Great Britain supreme in the world. Under the pretense of friendship it is a carefully laid and skillfully worked out plan to retain, hamper, and dwarf the power of the United States to progress to its manifest destiny to be the leading commercial nation of the world, a consummation urgently to be desired in the interest of civilization, because the history of the United States has proved that its progress has ever been accompanied by a willingness to give equal freedom to all, as opposed to the repressive and arrogant overlordship which has been the distinguishing characteristic of British control, which for centuries has made it a definite policy to cripple or remove by whatever means at hand its business rivals.

It was British hatred of colonial progress and hope to destroy a potential commercial-rival that caused the American Revolution.

It destroyed the commerce of Holland, Spain, and France.

It has repeatedly tried to control or destroy the commerce of the United States. Every time it has had opportunity it has shown its hatred of this country.

It has now destroyed Germany and would again control this country.

It went to war with China to force it to accept the opium trade, and then took Hongkong and \$30,000,000 indemnity.

IRISH OPPOSITION TO PACT.

The Irish stock in America has found here economic, religious, and political freedom. Their first allegiance is here. They are, above all, Americans. Bitter experience for centuries of the economic, political, and religious degrada-

tion, due to English rule and intimate knowledge of the various processes by which Great Britain reaches its goal, has given the States Senate permits our best friend among the nations to be wronged, stolen its principal commercial district from China to be exploited by Britain's partner in the Orient, Japan, which did not send a soldier to Europe to aid the war.

While the nation abhors war, there is a price which is too high to be paid for a shameful peace. This is a strictly American question, yet the commonest defense of the league is that opposition to it is stirred up wholly by Irish hatred of England. That the American Irish are against the league proposed is true, but not for the reason given. The first object of every person of Irish blood in this country is the safety, prosperity, and happiness of the United States.

As they made the largest single racial contribution to the armed forces of the United States during the war, they are to-day the largest single racial force in the present struggle to save America from the consequences of the surrender of American liberty at the Paris conference.

APATHY ABROAD REGARDING LEAGUE.

This much may be said in addition—if the persons of Irish blood in the United States, who accepted without reservation the President's promises and in every way met the call in men, money, and war service, not obtruding themselves, keeping quiet under a systematized campaign of falsehood and misrepresentation, would now consent to remain silent under the fact that they are under this proposed league marked to be the only subject white race on earth, they would in justice forfeit the respect of all men—worse than this—they would lose their self-respect, and thus prepare the way for an automatic discrimination against themselves in every field of human activities. As Americans first, however, they put the United States first. When its liberty and future are safeguarded, Ireland will incidentally be benefited, because there is no difference in the principle involved.

The astounding fact is that the United States is the only Nation where the league of nations is taken seriously. The apathy concerning it among the allied nations is because it is known to be what it actually is: A British plan to get dominance over the United States, which the other nations are satisfied to let happen, while each (with the exception of Italy), shares in the division of loot parceled out in secret treaties made during the war, and confirmed in Lord Cecil's league of nations.

As the creditor Nation of the world, the only one with no ax to grind, the United States was in a position to command compliance in the peace negotiations with the ideal which forced it into the war. At the beginning every wish was complied with. When President Wilson proposed the ridiculous conference in the Sea of Marmora with the Russian Reds, the conference smiled, shrugged its diplomatic shoulders, and consented, whereupon Mr. Wilson appointed as the representative of the United States the Rev. Herron, whose peculiar notions regarding marriage and other long-observed American ideals are, to say the least, liberal. Inasmuch as the Nation has since the war become familiar with the Herron type of internationalists, who have come into prominence and power, it loyally gagged hard and swallowed. The Prince's Island conference, as the wise ones who voted for it expected, never was held.

EUROPEAN "GRATITUDE" PATHETIC.

The gratitude of the people of the European nations to the United States as represented in its Chief Executive was pathetic. They believed that he was the magic-worker—they wanted and expected him to give to them peace, three meals a day, and a roof over their head, and got a Pandora's box, from which the colony of mischiefs is escaping despite the assurance that it would remain closed. The world, and the United States in particular, is beginning to realize what Wellington meant when he said after Waterloo: "There is only one thing worse than defeat—victory."

France has so little confidence in the league, as a power to restrain war, that it insisted on and obtained a separate defensive alliance with the United States.

In the Belgian Chamber of Deputies on August 8 the premier said that the league offered Belgium so little guaranty of peace that it forces that nation to look to its own defense. Italy, which alone has been denied its secret-treaty loot, is defiant and resentful.

When the league was presented to the British Parliament, its reception, according to the London press, was derisive laughter, the joke being at the expense of the United States. It was naturally not opposed.

The King of England paid unprecedented honor to Lloyd-George on his homecoming from Paris because of his diplomatic victories for Britain, and well he might. While the power of every other monarchy has been lessened, where not abolished, Great Britain is in political control of every third human being on earth, and is absolute on the seas; its only formidable European rival is out of the way; it has only one real business competitor left—the United States, which it obviously proposes to subdue by the arts in which it has no peer—diplomatic finesse, flattery, deception, intrigue.

To accomplish this end a campaign of British misrepresentation has been permitted to be carried on in this country and in South America, in which country it is designed to stifle, obstruct, and control the competition of the United States. In the United States it has largely been directed to isolate the Irish question from the other questions of British imperial policy in their relation to American interests to force it forward as matter peculiar to the Irish and by invoking religious, racial, and personal passions, in the intensity of the controversy, to sidetrack discussion of matters of vital interest.

Decided on merit, there can be no permanent union between the government theories of Britain and the United States. It is the marriage of the serpent and the dove, doomed in advance to disaster.

“MILITARISM” AND “NAVALISM.”

There is no difference to the future of liberty between “militarism” as represented by Germany and “navalism,” which is the power behind the Government whose policy is thus explained by Lord Thring:

“The means by which the possessions of Great Britain were acquired have been various as the possessions themselves. What is the link which fastens each of these possessions to the mother country? The inherent and indestructible right to exercise imperial powers; in other words, the supremacy of the Queen and the British Parliament. What, again, is the common bond of union between these vast colonial possessions, differing in laws, in religion, and in the character of the population? The same answer must be given, namely, the sovereignty of Great Britain. The mode in which the materials composing the British Empire have been cemented together is exactly the reverse of the manner of the construction of the American Union. In the case of the American Union independent States voluntarily relinquished a portion of their sovereignty to secure national unity, and intrusted the guardianship of that unity to a representative body chosen by themselves.”

While Lord Thring is in error in his conception of the “guardianship” of American sovereignty, which reposes in the people alone, he draws a correct picture of the power of British sovereignty, the exact opposite of the purposes of which the United States entered the war. With “militarism” temporarily defeated, inevitably to grow again if the league of nations is approved by the United States, the present fight is on “navalism,” the present and future menace of world peace.

HOW ENGLAND HAS DOMINATED THE WORLD.

With the exception of one decade in the nineteenth century, about the fifties, when the United States awakened and took the control of the seas, only to relinquish it again with the coming of the Civil War, England, by the power of her navy, has absolutely dominated the world.

When the armistice was signed in November, 1918, the United States had a quarter of a million more soldiers in France than Great Britain, the balance of British soldiers necessary to equalize the number of United States forces at the front having been diverted to police duty in Egypt, India, and Ireland.

The British Navy was strengthened constantly during the war. The United States was permitted to build a merchant marine, but without freedom of the seas, which was not even brought up for discussion at Paris. England retains the power over the United States that it has exercised for a generation to control rates, freights, sailings, and ports, which leaves this country in commercial bondage to it. As a result the workingmen of the United States are in imminent danger of being unemployed for four months of each year.

Secretary Lansing made two statements in his testimony before the Senate Committee on Foreign Relations, either of which is sufficient to justify the defeat of the league of nations as being inimical to the future of American commerce.

One was that the "freedom of the seas was not discussed." While it later appeared in President Wilson's belated submission of his draft that a weak and innocuous mention was made of this subject, it did not even skim the surface of "navalism," the real menace of world peace. And the other, that the secret treaty between England and Japan, by which England gave something she did not own to a nation which had no right to receive it, was known before the terms of the peace treaty were decided, and objection was made against it to Mr. Wilson, without effect, by himself and his colleagues.

When the nation contrasts the verbal chastisement which Mr. Wilson gave Italy over the Fiume claims, largely of academic interest to this country, with his concealment and final indorsement, against the advice of his colleagues, of the pro-English-anti-American antihonor and decency Shantung deal, it must be admitted that the American people have shown wonderful patience, although there is little doubt of their resentment and determined opposition, which will be shown in the final action of the United States Senate.

The President has decided, however, that the league must go through, whatever happens, and, with his marvelous skill in phrasing, dragged into his address to Congress on the "cost of living" an appeal to wage earners to come to his assistance. Before doing this, workmen and manufacturers should consider the consequences to themselves, their families, and the Nation.

Sir Walter Raleigh said that the control of shipping meant control of world trade, and this meant control of the world.

For more than 20 years the need of a foreign market for the surplus products of the United States has been manifest. To facilitate access to the trade of the Orient and the Far East, which is thrown away by the Shantung steal, President Roosevelt built the Panama Canal to offset the advantages to British shipping of the Suez Canal. When it was completed, an advantage to American ships using it was given by law. This displeased Great Britain, which protested without effect until the Democratic administration came into power in 1913, when, in violation of campaign promises, the law was repealed.

Britain was not only mistress of the seas, but could and did control adversely the internal policies of this country designed to encourage and extend our sea power.

Under improved methods of production, tremendously stimulated by the war, the workers of the United States can produce in eight months all that the country can consume in a year. The solution of unemployment and its accompanying evils is in disposing of our surplus products of manufacture in the open markets of the world. The neglect, as admitted by Secretary Lansing, even to discuss at Paris the matter of the freedom of the seas is unexplainable, when we realize that in a United States Senate investigation held in 1913, recorded in several volumes of testimony, it was conclusively demonstrated, and admitted by the representatives of the Shipping Trust, that under trust methods it was impossible for the United States before the war to build or maintain a merchant marine.

HOW FOREIGNERS HIT BOSTON PORT.

A small body of foreigners sitting in an office in London could, and did, not only determine the price and character of American freight, but could determine and limit the ports in America from which freight and passengers could be sent. Means were provided where competition by independent American transportation companies was made impossible. Baltimore, Boston, and Philadelphia were forced to build and maintain expensive marine terminals, the use of which the Shipping Trust received free, while the alien ships receiving these favors had to pay for similar facilities in their home ports.

This was possible only because it was within the power of the Shipping Trust to close to foreign trade any one of these ports refusing to comply with its demands.

Neglect of the United States after the Civil War to maintain its sea strength left it at the beginning of the great war with its merchant marine only two-fifths what it was in 1855 and substantially the same tonnage as the United States had in 1810.

Under Shipping Trust control exports of the United States were restricted largely to the food and raw materials which Europe could not get along without.

As a result of this control, the price of products, such as cotton, copper, potash, food, meat, and grains was in most cases dominated in England, and in some combinations by England and Germany together.

ENGLAND FLOUTS AMERICAN RIGHTS.

During the war England contemptuously disregarded and opposed our business rights. It held up our ships dealing with neutral nations, blacklisted and confiscated our products, and refused to permit our doing business with neutral countries, while it sold the same kind of goods to these neutrals. In its effort to get control of trade formerly done by Germany it shut us out of South America. When our progressive manufacturers attempted to build up the dye industry it put embargoes on exports to the United States of logwood and barks from Central America—all this through its control of the seas.

Cotton grown in the Southern States was sold by English middlemen to continental European manufacturers at a lower price than the same cotton could be bought by cotton manufacturers in New England. Of eighteen millions' worth of manufactured cottons imported into Argentina the year before the war, the United States, the greatest producer of raw cotton in the world, sold but \$300,000 worth.

One can not read a daily paper without seeing various items which indicate that England has her finger in every business pie in all corners of the world.

Further, nothing in the league of nations prevents—in fact, it encourages—the right of England and Japan to prefer each other in their respective colonies and thus automatically to discriminate against the products of the United States.

Nothing in the league regulates or prevents shipping arrangements to be carried so far as to create lower rates for Japanese and British shipping than for United States commerce.

ANOTHER BLOW TO AMERICAN TRADE.

In June, 1916, there was held at Paris an "economic alliance" of the Entente Powers, which, while the purposes were disguised, was actually designed to substitute a system of trade preferences for the most-favored-nation relation upon which the commercial intercourse of Europe and America rested before the war.

It was openly stated at this Paris conference that this would operate against the competition of the United States, and carry its commerce below normal equity in world commerce.

The feeling of the British shipping interest toward the United States was expressed in the following quotation under date of August 10, 1916, from *Fairplay*, the leading journal devoted to shipping finance in England:

"America so far has evaded the fight, but she is bound to recognize two things (apart from the fact that we are not out to be beaten): Firstly, that the nations who win this war, whether they be the Allies or the Central Powers, will not be in a temper to stand any nonsense from any neutrals; that the winning combatant countries will represent the main armed forces of the world, and that no one else will be in the running. Secondly, America will appreciate that the Allies, pace Mr. Asquith, do intend, where it pays them to do so, to put up a tariff wall between themselves and neutrals. They mean to restore themselves and to become self-supporting—at some expense it may be while the operation lasts, but certainly not for the benefit of neutrals. And if this be so, then America has perhaps a somewhat awkwardly restricted market. She has already experienced the pleasure of a Chinese boycott, but at the close of the war she will be facing as a competitor a Japan which economically, financially, and by treaty is a vastly different proposition from the Nation which could be openly flouted over California issues a few years back."

WRITTEN AFTER SECRET PACT WITH JAPAN.

The fact that this friendly comment was written shortly after the secret treaty between Japan and England was made is so significant that comment is not necessary.

In January, 1917, at the very time when Balfour and Viviani were in the United States pleading with President Wilson for American intervention, a great convention was being held at Pittsburgh by the United States National

Foreign Trade Council, at which 1,000 delegates from the largest business concerns in the United States were protesting against the action of the Paris Alliance and devising methods to avert its threatened consequences.

It is believed by many that the growth in United States exports during the war is a healthy indication of progress and that we are on a firm foreign-trade basis. It is, in fact, quite the contrary, because this increase has been brought about almost wholly by the export of war needs, which substantially ceased with the war. Our trade balance during the war on a peace basis went steadily downward. We gained money during the last five years in our foreign trade, but not business.

Nothing practical has been done by the United States Government to stabilize our foreign commerce, and the league of nations threatens it with paralysis.

A most important but little considered factor in British plans is its control of the mechanics of news distribution. Through this power it could and did during the war refuse to neutral nations the right to communicate with each other on their strictly neutral business and personal matters. Before the war merchants in the United States complained repeatedly of interference with their mail and cables.

SO-CALLED "LIBERTY" MEANINGLESS.

While the world is compelled to get the consent of any one nation to sail the seas or freely to communicate with each other, the liberty for which the war was won is a meaningless word. Under date of August 8, 1919, the United States Foreign Trade Council announces the appointment of a committee to take up the matter of American systems of cables and wireless. Present conditions are described as "intolerable."

Any nation that, in addition to control of the seas (which Great Britain has under the league) can dominate the world's food supply of the earth, is double master of the world's destiny. In 1912 James J. Hill called attention to the progressive diminution in food production of the United States, and looking ahead not for a year, but a generation, there is no question but that the United States and Canada are fast getting in a position where they will not be much more than able to feed themselves. The same conditions apply in South America and Australia. If the peace treaty and league are approved, England, which can not produce within its own island boundaries food enough to supply it for more than two months in the year, is in control of the future food supply of the world.

When the attempt was made by Cecil Rhodes to reduce the Boer Republic to vassalage to Great Britain, afterwards successful, after one of the most iniquitous wars in the world's history, he openly declared it his ultimate purpose to paint the map of the world red, and as the first step to run a railroad line from Cairo to the cape.

The treaty of peace has actually painted Africa red, and it is important for us in this country to know that in Africa there has been turned over to England one of the largest potential food areas left in the world, and American assistance is also being exerted to place Siberia, the second largest potential unused food-supply area in the world under the control of Great Britain.

WHEN BRITISH ATTITUDE WILL CHANGE.

A Great Britain freed from dependence on the food supply of the United States will be a vastly different nation to deal with than a Great Britain which would starve without us.

Since the war the United States has become the creditor nation of the world. If we gauge correctly the sentiment of the people of this country we are safe in assuming that the tremendous debts due the United States by the rest of the world will not be used as a source of exploitation, coercion, or oppression, but since we are in the dominant financial position by virtue of our national resources, there is no reason why we shall permit injustice to be done the people of our country by allowing British financial manipulation to neutralize this situation adversely to our national interest.

England has a floating debt of twenty-seven billions, eight and a half of which comes due this year. There is a balance in favor of the United States of more than four billions. On the ordinary basis of business England is to-day bankrupt, with internal, economic conditions making it worse.

There are signs and portents of a secret campaign now beginning, which has for its object the purpose of repudiating not only the interest, but the principal, of the United States war loans. It may be that something of this nature must be agreed to by the United States to save the world, but whatever action is taken must not be to restore England's lost financial leadership, but equally to sustain the credit and economic security of all nations alike. Only a rigid inquiry by the Congress into these questions, and especially as to the process by which the exchange value of the pound sterling is being maintained at what many believe to be an artificial ratio, at the expense of the United States, will enable the people to deal fairly with debtor-nations, and in the real spirit of world peace determine the problems and responsibilities of the position of the United States as a creditor for the world.

MAY CLOSE FAR EASTERN "OPEN DOOR."

Aside from the humiliating betrayal of China, our best friend and most powerful potential partner among the nations, in its sacrifice to the commercial ambition of England's ally and secret partner, Japan, the people of the United States are vitally concerned in the control of the "Key to the Orient" by Japan and England. Hong Kong, the other important entrance to China, is also in control of Great Britain, whose joint control with Japan of Kiaochow will mean the abandonment of the policy of the "open door" established as a result of American diplomacy. It will give monopoly to the two principal competitors of the United States to a market of a half billion people. While the principal opposition to the Shantung pact is based on our betrayal of a friend, the commercial consequences to America of approving any league which shuts it out of the "open door" to the Orient merits serious consideration.

Other items might be added to this protest. The tremendous expansion during the war of the United States merchant marine, on an oil burning basis, frees this country from the dependence on English coaling bases throughout the world, which have been the principal sources of her sea strength. The change of motor power from coal to oil would have given opportunity, under real "freedom of the seas," for the United States to compete on a basis of equality. British control of the oil fuel fields in Russia, China and Mexico should be denied and these localities made free for themselves and the world.

These considerations are presented in the belief that they are American issues vitally connected with the discussion regarding the league of nations, which, as proposed, settles every one of them adversely to the United States.

If America is true to herself in this crisis, the decision of the United States Senate will transform and purify the politics, policies, and business practices of the whole world.



3 0112 072645507